



Daily Report

East Europe

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Tuesday
31 October 1989

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Baker's, Quayle's Recent Speeches Viewed
*AU3110092289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 29 Oct 89 p 5*

[Yoan Mateev's article: "Is This Long-Expected Evolution?"]

[Text] Many foreign policy observers in Washington are asking themselves whether a positive change is evident in the U.S. foreign policy course, and more specifically in relations with the USSR. The question is prompted by the two speeches James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, read in the last 7 days in New York and San Francisco, and which dealt with similar themes.

Speaking at the New York Foreign Policy Association, the secretary of state analyzed the present state of relations between the USSR and the United States, and for the first time specifically pointed out that the prospects of a lasting and mutually beneficial improvement of USSR-U.S. relations "are now better than ever before." James Baker pointed out that the new political thinking and progress of restructuring in the USSR facilitate the appearance of new possibilities and preconditions for resolving difficult problems that have accumulated in the past between the two countries, and generally in East-West relations, and that this creates an historic chance, which requires a responsible and timely assessment.

In his second speech, relating those opinions to more specific ideas of progress in the most important sphere of USSR-U.S. relations—decreasing military confrontation and limiting weapons—the secretary of state optimistically reviewed the possibility of quickly achieving important agreements in the area of disarmament. "For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear era we are facing so directly the possibility of decreasing the risks of war," Baker said and supported his words with a brief review of the progress recently marked in the exchange of opinions and positions between the two countries.

The contents of those two speeches alone should definitely answer the question posed at the beginning of this article. However, those speeches require both further clarifications and real steps and actions on the part of the United States.

The most important reason for this is precisely the evident change in the official positions to date. After refraining from assuming clear positions on the future of USSR-U.S. relations for several months, toward the end of the spring and the beginning of the summer a clearly discernible skepticism toward the new political thinking, ideas, and initiatives of the USSR began to assert itself in Washington. Both Secretary of Defense Cheney and White House spokesman Fitzwater, described as "undiplomatic" by the local press, became mouthpieces of the negative moods. Very recently, on the eve of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Washington, a high-ranking State Department official

expressed nostalgia for the "cold war" period, which according to him had been characterized by "stability and predictability" in the international arena. The inactivity and negativism in the administration's circles against the background of the dynamic situation in the world evoked sharp criticism not only in the oppositional Democratic Party and in broad public circles, but also among influential members of the Congress' Republican minority.

The speech of Vice President Dan Quayle, read almost simultaneously with Baker's first speech, gave rise to additional question marks. Words of deep mistrust regarding the real intentions "concealed behind Moscow's new political thinking" resounded in that speech.

Therefore, observers are now puzzling about the meaning of the secretary of state's speech: Is this a striving to soften criticism related to the lack of adequate action at a responsible political moment, or is this the long-expected and real assumption of the position that has been vacant for so long?

Probably, in an attempt to dissipate doubt, the associates of the secretary of state issued special statements in which they pointed out that James Baker's speeches do not aim at publicizing a new U.S. line, but merely summarize the progress in U.S.-USSR relations that has been achieved because of both sides' systematic efforts. In other statements it was pointed out that "the speech of Vice President Quayle reflects his own opinion," and that he had not been previously briefed on the contents of Baker's speeches.

Thirsty for good news, most of the observers here interpret the clarifications as a proof of the fact that the question about changes in Washington's political thinking merits a positive answer.

NATO Nuclear Planning Group Session Assessed
*AU3110085889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Oct 89 p 4*

[Maksim Bozhilov commentary: "Evading Problems"]

[Text] The meeting of the so-called NATO Nuclear Planning Group, which ended on Wednesday in the Portuguese city of Quinta do Lago, was followed with interest and specific hopes; however, it did not bring about the necessary change in NATO's nuclear strategy.

In the course of 2 days the defense ministers of 14 of NATO's 16 states, (France is not a member of the bloc's military organization, while Ireland has observer status) discussed the alliance's future nuclear policy on the basis of the results achieved until now at the USSR-U.S. talks on control over weapons, and the prospects for a treaty on limiting conventional weapons after 1990. The group's meeting was important because it was expected to review NATO's nuclear potential after the compromise decision adopted by the bloc's state and governmental leaders in Brussels at the end of May. In the final

communicate the ministers of defense express "readiness to cooperate" in improving relations between East and West; however, on the basis of the declarations that accompanied this readiness, it is obvious that at least for the time being they do not intend to go any further.

According to an official NATO representative "the general atmosphere at the strategic weapons talks is very good," and significant progress has been achieved at the Vienna talks on limiting conventional weapons. However, at the same time—as Richard Cheney, U.S. secretary of defense, and Manfred Woerner, NATO general secretary, insist—the allies must not allow a decrease in their military budgets, and the United States must implement the plans to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. Despite the fact that they adhered to the establishing of stable and predictable relations between East and West, the participants in the meeting continue to think that nuclear weapons must be maintained at a high level.

NATO's defense ministers noted the proposal contained in the statement on mutually disbanding the military-political groups in Europe made by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on Monday. However, they again did not show readiness to give a specific answer and make a decisive step toward further strengthening security in the continent.

Yordanov Departs for Talks With Turks in Kuwait

*AU2910191189 Sofia BTA in English
1815 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—A government delegation of Bulgaria left today for Kuwait to participate in talks with a government delegation of Turkey, headed by the Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Mesut Yilmaz.

Due to a virus disease of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian delegation is headed by Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The meeting will take place with the mediatory mission of Kuwait's Amir His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah.

Mladenov Ill

*TA2710153889 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
1512 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] Ankara (A.A)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov will not attend the upcoming Turco-Bulgarian ministerial meeting with his counterpart Mesut Yilmaz in Kuwait due to illness, official sources said on Friday.

They said Deputy Prime Minister Yordanov, instead, would represent Bulgaria at the meeting, scheduled for Oct. 30, which is organized to seek a solution to the plight of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

The meeting is in response to the mediation efforts of Kuwait's amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah. [passage omitted]

Yordanov Arrives

*AU2910200589 Sofia BTA in English
1841 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[Text] Kuwait, October 29 (special BTA corr)—The Bulgarian Government delegation which will participate in talks with government delegation of Turkey arrived this evening in Kuwait. The leader of the Bulgarian delegation Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy prime minister was received by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister of Kuwait as well as by other ministers and officials.

The first friendly talk between the two prime-ministers [titles as received] took place at the airport and the two ministers stressed the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Kuwait. From the Bulgarian side a thankfulness was expressed for the mission of good will of the amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah. It was indicated that the government delegation of Bulgaria is arriving ready to carry constructive dialogue on a wide range of issues aiming at the normalization and development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah expressed conviction in the success of the forthcoming meeting between the Bulgarian and the Turkish Government delegations which, as he stressed is to the interest of the two peoples, of peace and security in the world.

Whether the optimism of the Kuwaiti leaders will be justified depends most of all on the good will of the participants in the bilateral talks which begin tomorrow. On different occasions and at all levels under the present Bulgaro-Turkish contacts the Bulgarian side has many a time proved its willingness to place its relations with Turkey at the due level, coming out of the situation of the two countries as neighbouring Balkan states.

This time, too, the Bulgarian delegation came to Kuwait with a candid intention to lay the beginning of a permanent, frank and good-neighbourly dialogue. It brought also the readiness for serious talks on all aspects of relations with Turkey. The concrete constructive proposals which our delegation will submit for discussion are quite eloquent. They embrace the whole spectre of issues of mutual interest in the sphere of policy, economy and culture.

The Bulgarian delegation will place at the negotiating table issues of the humanitarian sphere with the best intentions to seek a way out of the present abnormal state of bilateral relations and with the aim to encourage the dialogue in this sphere. In the spirit of the Vienna agreements issues like the facilitation of two-way movement of citizens from Bulgaria and Turkey, the issues of the separated families, etc. can be solved. Such was the aim and the sincere wish to attain it with which the Bulgarian delegation came to this country. Whether the

Turkish side will follow suit is to be shown in the forthcoming talks tomorrow in Kuwait.

Talks End

AU3010202889 Sofia BTA in English
1850 GMT 30 Oct 89

[BTA Special Correspondent]

[Text] Kuwait, October 30 (BTA)—The talks between the governmental delegations of Bulgaria and Turkey were completed today. They were led by Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of Turkey.

Before the beginning of today's meeting the two were received by Kuwait's Amir H.H. Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmed al-Sabah. Mr Georgi Yordanov conveyed to him cordial greetings from State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov, as well as the high assessment given by him for the efforts of Kuwait's head of state for the settlement of the Bulgaro-Turkish meeting. Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah expressed satisfaction over the beginning of the bilateral talks and stressed that his country has always tried to help for the elimination of the contradictions between Bulgaria and Turkey.

The Bulgaro-Turkish talks were officially opened by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister of Kuwait. He stressed that the meeting is an expression of the desire of the two countries to start an open and goodwilled dialogue.

After the opening, which was also attended by Mr Hamed al-Ghabid, secretary general of the organization of the Islamic Conference, Mr Georgi Yordanov and Mr Mesut Yilmaz started the talks, which continued for about five hours in the morning and in the afternoon. After their completion a joint communique was issued.

The communique reads: "Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, responded to the invitation with goodwill by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of Kuwait, and by the Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah and held a meeting on October 30, 1989 in Kuwait.

With the aim to normalize the Bulgaro-Turkish relations strained during the recent years they examined whether there exist political will and the necessary base for the beginning of a resultative dialogue for normalization of the relations.

In these frameworks the two sides made a broad exchange of their views, positions and proposals on the existing situation in the Bulgaro-Turkish relations, on the reasons and the problems which have ensued from them.

In the light of the encouraging impressions from these talks the two sides agreed to meet once again in Kuwait, in November 1989.

The two ministers expressed their sincere gratitude to the deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Kuwait for the opportunity they were granted and for the excellent conditions provided for the holding of the talks in good atmosphere."

CPSU Working Group Discusses Agrarian Policy

AU3110092889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] A working group of the CPSU Central Committee led by Valentin Kosarev, secretary of the CPSU Vladimirov Oblast Committee, visited Bulgaria from 23 to 27 October.

The group was received by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. During the ensuing talk, issues were reviewed related to the party leadership in the process of implementing the new system of managing Bulgaria's agro-industrial complex according to the decisions of the BCP Central Committee May 1989 Plenum. The guests had meetings at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee, and the BCP Municipal Committees in Pazardzhik and Smolyan. They visited agricultural sites and companies and enterprises of the food industry.

During the meetings, that took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on a broad range of specific issues related to the BCP's agrarian policy under present conditions.

On 27 October the guests departed from Bulgaria.

Joint Automotive Enterprise Launched in Prague

AU2510192989 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Prague, October 25 (BTA)—An agreement for the establishing of a second Bulgaro-Czechoslovak joint enterprise-coordination scientific-production association "LIAZ-Madara" for the production of automotive technology, was signed here today.

This will raise to a qualitatively new stage the cooperation and specialization between the Shumen Automotive "Madara" Works and the Jablonec "LIAZ" Works which started their cooperation with the signing of the first agreement in 1970. In the last 19 years the "LIAZ-Madara" cooperation confirmed itself as the most significant integration program in the CEMA member states. The Bulgarian side has produced and delivered to their Czechoslovak colleagues 197,000 front and rear axles for the "LIAZ" trucks. The "LIAZ" enterprise imported over 33,000 trucks in Bulgaria which have been assembled in the city of Shumen.

Along with the hitherto exchange of ready production the two plants will turn to joint development and planning of the production, provision of materials as well as to other elements of real integration. The future work will stress on the broadening of the cooperation (joint design bureaus, service and foreign trade activity, distribution of the potential, etc.), on the technological and investment policy.

Security Forces Beat Up Demonstrators

AU3010114789 Vienna DIE PRESSE
in German 30 Oct 89 p 9

["b.b." report: "Beatings for 'Eco-Glasnost' at CSCE Forum in Sofia"]

[Text] Vienna/Sofia—According to the assessment of Western delegates it was an "enormous self-inflicted wound" by the Bulgarian rulers at the CSCE environmental forum in Sofia last week: On Thursday [26 October] security forces used force to break up a rally by the new environmentalist group "Eco-Glasnost" in a park in the Bulgarian capital; they beat up a number of demonstrators, and arrested others. As a result, work was stopped at the environmental forum, the host was to some extent harshly criticized by representatives from East and West. With "half an apology" the Bulgarians tried to pour oil on the troubled waters.

At the opening of the environmental forum 2 weeks ago, "Eco-Glasnost" went public for the first time. In a park in Sofia the environmentalists established an information stand and collected signatures for a petition, which calls for a public discussion about contentious industrial and energy projects. "Eco-Glasnost" also protests against the government's project to store waste from the Austrian VOEST-Alpine company in Bulgaria, which is to earn Sofia about 260 million schillings.

In official statements, several CSCE delegates paid tribute to the activities of the environmentalist group and called on the Bulgarian Government to refrain from reprisals against "Eco-Glasnost" and permit it and related groups to continue their legitimate work. In vain: Several people were arrested on Thursday.

Soviet Delegate: Valuable Time Lost

This was too much even for the Soviet delegation head: Angriily he asked the hosts to avoid such incidents in the future; the conference lost valuable working time. Similarly critical comments also came from the Polish and Hungarian delegations; even harsher was the criticism from representatives of neutral and Western states.

On Friday [27 October] the Bulgarians officially admitted that the police had acted with too much force against the environmentalists. Unofficially, it was said that the police action had been ordered by Sofia's mayor—without the knowledge of top officials.

During the night Friday, an emergency session of the Bulgarian leadership allegedly took place. The result was "half an apology" to the CSCE delegates, which, however, was linked with the reproach that Western media representatives and diplomats are contributing to fanning the tensions between authorities and independent groups. Western and neutral diplomats reject this accusation. According to eyewitnesses, there were indeed provocations before the police action, but not from the environmentalists nor by Western journalists and diplomats. The provocations were much rather carried out by "typically dressed civilians," that is, secret service agents.

Hope for Businesslike Work After "Storm to Clear the Air"

After the "storm to clear the air," the CSCE delegates in Sofia now hope that the work at the environmental forum will be concluded with a substantive final statement by the end of this week. This statement is to contain specific recommendations on questions of industrial accidents, dangerous chemicals, and trans-border water pollution. In addition, the United States wants the paper to clearly state that all CSCE states have to fulfill all their obligations concerning human rights; the Romanians have called for the mentioning of "disarmament as an important precondition for environmental protection."

It is certain that, after the events in Sofia, the right of independent non-governmental environmentalist groups to be active in ecological issues will be explicitly stressed. Otherwise, the first CSCE environmental forum might end like the London CSCE information forum of May—without a joint final statement.

Further on 28 Oct Anniversary Demonstration

Charter 77 Leader Comments

AU3010083789 Paris AFP in English
0821 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Bernard Meixner report]

[Excerpt] Prague, Oct 30 (AFP)—Baton-wielding police may have beaten down last Saturday's protests in Czechoslovakia, but a leader of the Charter 77 human rights group is convinced that the demonstrators' day will come.

Prague was quiet Sunday, with a strong police presence on the streets after Saturday's unauthorized rally, on the 71st anniversary of Czechoslovak independence, when thousands of demonstrators called for free elections and the ouster of Communist Party chief Milos Jakes.

Police beat up protestors, manhandled foreign journalists and confiscated news film as they intervened. The official news agency CTK said seven demonstrators and three policemen were injured during the clashes, while 355 protestors were detained, including 17 foreigners from 11 countries.

But according to Peter Uhl, a senior figure in Charter 77, "one day, things will also move in Czechoslovakia, but it might take another one or two years."

"What's missing is the spark to ignite the flame. The peasants are a stabilising factor for the regime, and the workers of the older generation are satisfied with their lot", Mr. Uhl declared.

"We have neither the shortages like those in Poland or the Soviet Union, nor the massive exodus as in East Germany", he said, but warned that "young working-class people and students are beginning to rebel".

Mr. Uhl, 48, an engineer, avoided being detained when leaving home on Saturday, but his wife, Anna Sabatova, was arrested as she went to join the protestors.

"The Czechoslovak leadership is well-established", Mr. Uhl said, "but it is becoming increasingly isolated from opponents, people who are beginning to voice criticism more openly, and intellectuals, artists and scientists".

Mr. Uhl estimated that 5,000 demonstrators had thronged Wenceslas Square in central Prague on Saturday - against a police count of 3,000—but that between 10,000 and 20,000 local people supported the protest.

The square was under heavy surveillance Sunday, with police checking identity papers of young people strolling there and in nearby streets. Large numbers of police cars were on patrol city-wide.

More than 200 of the 355 people detained were released by Sunday afternoon, reliable sources said. Many of those rounded up had to be taken by coach to police

stations in the nearby towns of Pribram, Nymburg and Melnik, as the capital's cells were already full to overflowing.

Out of 28 opposition figures arrested here Friday, as a preventive move by police to limit the demonstration, about a dozen were released late Sunday.

"It seems that the authorities are respecting the legal period of custody, which is 48 hours", a Charter 77 member said.

Although the main protest Saturday took place in Prague, demonstrations were also reported in two other cities. In Brno, southeast of here, 600 people marched through the city centre without police intervention, witnesses said. [passage omitted]

People Became 'More Aggressive'

AU3110111089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 30 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Disturbance of Public Order in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—About 3,000 persons attempted to disturb the peace and public order on National Day in Wenceslas Square in Prague, and later in other parts of the center of the capital. Among them were a number of provocateurs from abroad who had come to Prague for this purpose. The participants in the antisocialist demonstration did not react to the appeals by the National Committee and members of the Public Security Corps to disband the unauthorized demonstration and vacate the area. On the contrary, they became more aggressive. The law-enforcing forces used mild measures to push the demonstrators out of Wenceslas Square and from other places in the center of Prague.

Daily Blames VOA, RFE

AU3110110089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 30 Oct 89 p 2

[Jiri Janouskovec, Michal Podzimek, Josef Smola, and Karel Walter article: "They Have Abused 28 October"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondents)—Saturday 28 October—the CSSR's National Day. We are commemorating the anniversary of the Republic's foundation. The sunny festive afternoon has attracted thousands of Prague's citizens, as well as tourists from home and abroad to the historic areas of the capital city. However, just before 1500, other people came to Wenceslas Square, people who were not at all interested in admiring our historic tourist attractions. Czech, but also Polish, Hungarian, German, and other languages could be heard. Several dozen foreign journalists are waiting anxiously for a sensation to happen. Their running around hither and thither seems almost comical. Whenever a larger group of people appears, they immediately rush over with their television cameras....

Several hundred people, obviously waiting for even the slightest incentive to act, gather in front of the statue of

St. Wenceslas at 1500. It is 1503. Two policeman are checking an 18-year-old girl's identification papers. She begins, without reason, to scream hysterically. At last, something is happening. Someone, who did not even see this girl, begins to chant senselessly: "Let him go, let him go." Western television crews and journalists jostle for position around the statue. Two young men unfurl a banner with the inscription: "We Will Not Allow The Republic To Be Subverted!" This is not the first time that the illegal groups have hypocritically concealed their intentions behind similar slogans.

During the course of a few minutes, the crowd has multiplied to around 3,000 people. Hundreds of other onlookers are watching from the pavement. With the aid of a megaphone, staff from the national committee appeal to the participants in the unauthorized, and thus illegal gathering, to disperse in the interest of maintaining public order in the area around Wenceslas Square. The response is more screaming: "Shame on you" and whistles. The appeal is repeated several times and includes a warning that the police, whose order enforcement units, in the meantime, have appeared in the upper part of the square, will be called upon to ensure peace and order.

Several dozen people begin chanting "March, march" and the crowd turns round and moves in a direction toward the center of the square. Offensive chanting can be heard. "Gestapo, Gestapo," is shouted. The insults are even targeted upon those who are only watching from the pavement and who do not want to join the march: "Are you not Czechs?" An older man says in agitation: "The Gestapo, surely not?" "Look at him, the last Communist!" shouts a youth.

The order enforcement units close off the lower part of Wenceslas Square. Many people realize that the aggressive behavior of the demonstration's initiators has already long exceeded tolerable limits and they leave the "march" and depart down side streets. The police isolate the aggressive group in front of the Hotel Evropa, they gradually check its participants' papers, and lead them away to buses parked nearby. Some "heroes" throw themselves onto the ground and play act for Western cameramen, however, they soon leap up and attempt to escape. Right in front of us, the colleague of a Western cameraman snatches the documents belonging to one of the demonstrators from a policeman's hand and sticks them in front of the lens.

Wenceslas Square was cleared around 1600. A smaller group of hooligans then tried to whip up unrest in several places in the center of Prague (in Jungmann Square, the Old Town Square, the area around the National Theater, Red Army Square, Republic Square, and elsewhere).

Each of the participants in the unauthorized gathering had sufficient opportunity to leave Wenceslas Square on time and unscathed. Despite this, truncheons had to be used against some people. In some places, members of the police force were attacked with stones and other

objects. Seven civilians and, as it was made clear on Sunday [29 October], five members of the National Security Corps were injured and were given medical treatment. No one has been hospitalized. On Saturday 355 people were detained by the police, of these, 17 are foreigners. One hundred and forty nine of these people were arrested in accordance with Article 23 of the law on the National Security Corps and legal responsibility will be drawn up against them according to the extent of their guilt and the social danger of their conduct.

Besides some of the organizers of several illegal groups, the main initiators of the unauthorized demonstration on Wenceslas Square were, first and foremost, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

Western Reports Criticized

LD3110110189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] [words indistinct] information and facts—is the title of a commentary by Jiri Cebrovsky:

When I read agency reports by Western correspondents today on the events in Wenceslas Square on Saturday, 28 October, it was like watching the bidding at a hand of Marias [card game]. Ten thousand, 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 people demonstrated in the center of Prague—says the author of the last statement, Jiri Hajek, a signatory of Charter 77. After all, he wanted to see those 50,000 people in Wenceslas Square as he could hardly otherwise defend his claims about the growing opposition in our country. It is, however, surprising that the same or almost the same figures were given by correspondents of prominent world agencies and newspapers who claim that objective and serious reporting is their motto. At the same time, however, many admitted with embarrassment that fewer people than expected gathered at Wenceslas Square.

A correspondent of the influential daily THE WASHINGTON POST did not manage to contain this sigh: We have expected more than the 3,000 people who took part in the demonstration. Some therefore managed to see something which was not there to see. Others were disappointed with what they could see but there were also those who could see and hear.

The Austrian DER STANDARD heard cracking of breaking bones when the security forces intervened and the sound must have been so loud that it could be heard in Vienna too. This fact no doubt pleased Radio Free Europe, to which DER STANDARD and also some other Austrian dailies certainly belong ideologically.

We expected more, THE WASHINGTON POST sighed. We expected more, Radio Free Europe said angrily, and in connection with the low attendance it accused our citizens by saying: Where were you on the afternoon and evening of 20 October? But this is no bidding in a hand of Marias which is an entirely honest and interesting

game. This is gambling with the thinking and consciousness of people at home and abroad. The responsibility for this is also born by those who have been deceiving and figure juggling, those who expressed disappointment at the proceedings of Saturday's demonstration, and finally also those who called directly for these actions, because for the society, and the determination to develop and strengthen socialism in our country further are another thorn in their side.

28 Oct Wenceslas Square Military Ceremony Reported

Square Restricted for Ceremony

AU2710121989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Military Oath-Taking in Wenceslas Square"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)— This year's ceremonial oath-taking of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, Border Guards, and the troops of the Ministry of Interior will take place in our capital on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. Almost 1,500 new soldiers will take their oath in Wenceslas Square, in the Mustek area [lower section of the square], on Saturday, 28 October, at 1000.

Because of the relative narrowness of the Mustek area, it has been decided that on the day of the rehearsal and on the day of the ceremonial oath-taking all interested persons will be admitted only by ticket, issued by the [Prague] Garrison Administration.

The joint rehearsal in the Mustek area will take place on Thursday, 26 October, at 2100. Between 1700 and 2300 that day, the area from Panska Street up to Spalena and Rytirska street will be closed. On the day of the oath, 28 October, it must be anticipated that the area will be closed from 0600 to 1200. During this period, all trains will pass the Mustek subway station without stopping and all motor vehicles will have to be parked outside the area.

Soldiers Take Oath

LD2810125189 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Almost 1,500 soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army, members of the Border Guard and Interior Ministry forces took a ceremonial oath today at Wenceslas' Square in Prague on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia.

Czech National Council Chairman Josef Kempny spoke to the military units, soldiers' families, and many Prague citizens. Miroslav Stepan, member of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the CPCZ City Committee in Prague, was present at the ceremony.

Reader Complains of Secrecy Over Military Crashes

AU3010113889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Letter from Jiri Fuksa of Brno followed by RUDE PRAVO editorial reply: "Why Were We Not Informed?"]

[Text] Comrade Editor in Chief!

At the beginning of April, I wrote to your newspaper concerning the poor flow of public information and the concealment of facts. This was because a military aircraft crashed near Brno causing fatalities. Afterward, a rumor flew around Brno that the aircraft had crashed on a highway among cars and that, apparently, it was full of the victims. This is not the first instance of an aircraft accident near Brno. When I telephoned ROVNOST [Brno party daily] I was informed that they cannot report on this until the accident is investigated. Then the report will be made public. More than 6 months have passed and nothing has happened.

I do not care whether the newspapers report on why an aircraft crashed and so on. However, I am mad at you because almost every day there is a report in the newspapers that a military aircraft has crashed somewhere or that "x" number of soldiers have perished during maneuvers in the West.

I am starting to get the impression that our military technology is indestructible and that our servicemen are immortal. In your newspaper of 10 October on page 7 you again write about accidents involving American military aircraft.

I have been a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for 4 years now but I have to listen to all sorts of insinuations from fellow workers concerning your reporting or the concealment of facts. I think that you are not doing your job very well.

Editorial comment. Our reader justifiably demands that the public be informed on time and in detail when military equipment, in this instance a fighter aircraft, causes damage or other injury to the civilian sector during an accident. The citizens rightly demand this information from journalists and journalists rightly can and must demand such information from military organs. This corresponds to the principles of the flow of public information which also apply to the Ministry of National Defense and to its press spokesmen.

However, the reader is not correct when he maintains that "almost every day there is a report in the newspapers that a military aircraft has crashed somewhere (he means in the West)," and so on. Reports on military accidents that have happened in the world are a rare exception, as a rule they are made public in connection with the political circumstances. Accidents involving military hardware are, for the most part, a coincidental indication of military exercises or of tests involving new military technology throughout the world, including in our country. Such accidents are, therefore, the military's

internal affair and it is not necessary to make them, whether they happen in our country or abroad, the object of extraordinary attention. However, our reader, Jiri Fuksa, mentions an event in our country that also concerned the civilian sector and his demand that the public in the appropriate region should be informed about it is shared by the RUDE PRAVO editorial office.

Viewer Complains About TV Distortion of History

AU3010123289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Letter from Karel Doudera of Prague: "Why A Chill Ran Down My Spine"]

[Text] While watching part four of Monday's [23 October] television serial "Turning Point Years" [a dramatic reconstruction of the political struggles which culminated in the events of February 1948, written by Vilam Plevza, director of the CPSL Marxism-Leninism Institute], a chill almost ran down my spine. I know that a long time has lapsed between the scenario being written and the serial being broadcast, yet today's impact differs from the original intention. A large number of young people, if they are following the serial, will now be convinced that Stalin forced the Czechoslovak Government to change its decision on agreeing to the Marshall Plan and, by so doing, destroyed the only chance for Czechoslovakia which—according to these young people—might now be on the same level as, for instance, West Germany. They will now also be convinced that Gottwald, who headed the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, is mainly to blame for this situation. Put yourselves in the minds of today's young people (or the majority of them!) and you will see. I think that this serial with its one-sided interpretation of a tidied up history will do more harm than good.

Reader Voices Concern at New Customs Measures

AU3010134689

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 October on its page 3 letters' column, under the headline "What Disturbs Me," carries a 500-word letter from Dr. Jan Rychlik, Candidate of Sciences, in which he voices his concern at the plans to adopt more rigorous customs measures against tourists from socialist countries.

He is afraid that the "new restrictions" will mean a "further curb on tourist contacts with Poland" and that these measures will lead to "an expansion of anti-Polish, anti-Hungarian, and even, partially, anti-Russian emotions."

Rychlik concludes his letter by stating that the current situation, in which tourists from the other socialist countries export bulk bought goods to their own countries to the detriment of the Czechoslovak domestic market, cannot be resolved by administrative means. According to him, "it is necessary to seek a solution in the economic sphere."

Stepan, Prague Theater Artists Discuss Problems

AU2210211089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 Oct 89 p 5

[Frantisek Cinger, Vladimir Hrouda report: "Beneficial Crystallization of Views: Meeting of Prague Theater Artists With Representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia City Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents) — Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, and other party and state representatives of the capital met with representatives of the Prague theaters on Wednesday [18 October]. The meeting was held in the Secretariat of the CPCZ City Committee in Prague.

The theatrical artists were represented by national artists Ivo Zidek, Milos Kirschner, Josef Vetrovec, Vlastimil Brodsky, and Vlastimil Harapes, by actors Josef Zima, Viktor Vrabec, Tatjana Medvecká, Jiri Stepnicka, Boris Rosner, Martin Stropnický, Karel Gull, and Petr Svoboda, as well as by some theater directors, artistic chiefs, and stage managers.

At the outset M. Stepan stressed that the meeting with leading theatrical artists has purely the character of a discussion. It should contribute to the knowledge of present problems and thereby help solve the problems of this year's theatrical season. It should also contribute to the preparation of a session of the city party committee on culture, scheduled to take place before the end of this year.

Opening the discussion, Petr Svoboda asked about the fate of the comments made at previous meetings [between party representatives and artists]. He was referring, among other things, to the fate of J. Vinklar's demand for the mediation of inspirations from Soviet culture. Josef Hajek, deputy mayor of Prague, replied that this comment was used in preparing the current Days of Moscow in Prague—two theater groups have come to Prague which have not performed here before and an exhibition of contemporary Soviet art has been staged, which is presented in Prague for the first time.

Karel Martinek said that the discussion must focus on the question of what type of socialism has taken shape in our country and what type of socialism we would like to create. Everything else will follow from the answer to this question, including the position of the artist in society, the role of the economy, culture, and so forth.

Tomas Engel spoke about approaches which pit against each other the artists' earnings and the material values generated by the working people. Artists do not sponge off workers' money, he said. Investments in culture benefit the nation as a whole. In spite of this, the stereotype lingers on of contraposing the workers class and the artistic front. [passage omitted]

Boris Rosner dealt with the problems of the young generation of artists, which says—if this or that artist cannot teach us, we will not study. Out of distrust, it also does not read contemporary authors. The young generation does, however, follow the development of events in society and is irritated when problems are not tackled. [passage omitted]

Milan Lukes spoke about his experiences from the management of the National Theater's drama company. In the 3 years of my being chief of the National Theater's drama company, I cannot blame anyone for having banned something, he said. It is in this—and also in this discussion, which does not have a long tradition yet—that I see the source of my optimism. Milan Lukes said. He also said that in pushing through "risky things," he has been more likely to run up against resistance inside the theater than outside it. The theater serves as an important source of knowledge and the fact is apparent in it that thinking in society has become more political and more radical. There is the view that one should not return to the past. However, there are quite many people who do not identify with this view, who do not want to build from scratch. It is necessary to conduct a dialogue, but there is the question of its limits. The limits are set by socialism, but we do not know what it should look like. The concept of socialism is wide and the limits of dialogue, too, must therefore be wider. [passage omitted]

The debate at the meeting also revolved around many other issues, including the need to express one's opinion on important building projects before a decision on them has been made and not only after their construction has started. [passage omitted] One also spoke about attitude toward signatories of the text "A Few Sentences," about what idea various people have of the democratization of society, and about other issues.

At the close of the discussion Miroslav Stepan expressed thanks for the ideas and comments raised in it. He stressed that we all feel how rapidly the world is changing. These changes logically touch upon the socialist countries as well. Under the pressure of fast paced radical changes people often lose their orientation, however. The tendency to negate everything which society has accomplished over the past 40 years is making itself felt. It needs to be clearly said that the results of our country in the postwar period have been worth our common efforts.

It was good to hear one another. It contributes to the crystallization of views and standpoints. There have been problems and there have been mistakes. We must make amends for them and march on. And we must become clear about with whom to march and under what conditions. However, above all, we must work. The antithesis would be doing nothing.

M. Stepan stressed that similar debates ought to be conducted, in particular, at workplaces, so that they concern every artist and worker. Their purpose is not

only to elucidate policy but also to win the broadest possible strata for its implementation.

Artists' Attempts To 'Abuse' Restructuring Noted

AU2310124789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Culture, the Arts, and the Present"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It is true even of culture and the arts that nothing new comes into being with ease, without conflicting situations. Sometimes it is precisely in this sphere of social life that various conflicts and tensions surface earlier, and manifest themselves more conspicuously than elsewhere. This is the case, among other things, because culture and the arts have always been characterized by a sensitive attitude toward various problems of society. This was the case in the past and this is the case today. [passage omitted]

Broad exchange of views, open and critical discussion, courage in raising problems—all these are necessary prerequisites for fulfilling the real mission of culture and the arts in the development of society.

The restructuring of society is a new, revolutionary and at the same time immensely complicated process. Its realization is unthinkable without changes in thinking, psychology, without the profound understanding of its inevitability, without overcoming various stereotypes and habits.

Experience shows that the present social changes logically lead to increased criticism in society. This is natural since the success of restructuring is unthinkable without the development of constructive criticism and also self-criticism. This, however, must not lead to extremes, such as to the renouncing of values that have proven their worth and viability or, on the other hand, to viewing the criticism of existing phenomena that are alien to socialism as antisocialist activity. This fully applies also to culture and the arts, both professional and amateur.

However, the fact cannot be overlooked that there are also people who would like to abuse restructuring for attacks against socialism and who subordinate all their activity to this aim. This, however, is no reason for the party and society to abandon restructuring and for the cultural and artistic front not to contribute to its realization. All the more important is it to concentrate on concrete artistic work, on deepening the cultural and artistic front's bonds with the life of society.

It is necessary to build on the best traditions of our culture and the arts, strengthen the moral values of society, take part in building a prospering, materially and spiritually rich socialist society, and support the process of restructuring and the development of socialist democracy. All artists and cultural workers who have the future of this country at heart must be united in this effort.

Urbanek on Role, Tasks of National Front
AU2410105489

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 October on page 3 carries 2,700-word "excerpts" from a speech by Karel Urbanek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, at a session of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee held in Prague on 19 October. The speech deals with the tasks of the National Front in the run-up to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

In the opening part of the speech, Urbanek discusses the implementation of the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the "activation" of the National Front. He says that the activity of National Front organizations and bodies has "substantially increased" since the adoption of the document, which is reflected in the "deepening of the National Front's sociopolitical role and prestige." Nonetheless, he continues, "the results of activation do not conform with the period that has elapsed since the adoption of the document and with current social needs arising from the implementation of restructuring and democratization." This is also why the "situation as regards the participation of, in particular, the lower elements of National Front bodies and organizations in the creation of fundamental decisions is changing only slowly."

Urbanek goes on to discuss the need for greater participation of National Front bodies and organizations in the formulation and implementation of national committees' election programs. In this context he deplores the tendency to cling to "methods, forms, and contents of work which no longer have anything to offer to the people, do not attract them, and do not activate them for the common cause." He emphasizes that the National Front is the pillar of the political system in Czechoslovakia and the platform for the implementation of the "socialist diversity of views and interests" and that its "activation" is not a short-term campaign but a "strategic matter in our policy." Speaking about the role of noncommunist political parties, Urbanek then says: "An important constituent part of the National Front are the noncommunist political parties—the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSP] and the Czechoslovak People's Party [CPP]. Their ties of alliance with the CPCZ arise from the National Front's united policy and are characterized by joint efforts at a further qualitative development of socialism. We regard as positive the growth of their activity and the fact that CSP and CPP members formulate their own constructive standpoints and suggestions on a number of weighty social issues. Mutual cooperation takes shape in consultations at all levels and the National Front fully supports all members of these parties who are effectively involved for the benefit of society's development. The agreement was confirmed during recent talks with representatives of these two

parties that CSP and CPP members must assert themselves to a greater extent in positions of responsibility in social and economic life. With this in mind, we are taking quite specific steps within the framework of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front. In conformity with specific conditions, members of these parties are being elected to the post of deputy chairmen of National Front committees in districts, towns, and localities." The National Front is also the "decisive platform for the assertion of the views and interests of citizens without party affiliation," Urbanek continues, and emphasizes the need to "attentively listen to their views and take them into consideration."

Urbanek goes on to discuss the tasks of member organizations of the National front, saying that they must "democratize their internal life, strengthen their political and organizational unity, and create wide scope for the initiative of their members."

In conclusion, Urbanek outlines the "main and decisive tasks" facing the National Front in the period to come. He refers, *inter alia*, to the need for its "intensive political, ideological, and organizational work" in clarifying the essence and the aims of the policy of restructuring and democratization; to its important role in the public discussion on the documents of the 18th CPCZ Congress and in the fulfillment of the tasks of the 1989 plan; and, in general, to the need for the "activation" of its member organizations and their primary elements and for the concentration of their attention on the solution to the most acute social problems.

News Conference on Agriculture, Supplies

AU2210212289 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Oct 89 pp 1,6

[*ha*]-signed report: "A Reasonably Good Year in Agriculture; From a News Conference at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Czech Socialist Republic"]

[Summary] At a news conference in Prague yesterday, J. Rados and M. Cernohous from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Czech Socialist Republic discussed the fulfillment of tasks in agriculture and the food industry this year.

"The present situation in animal farming in the Czech Socialist Republic provides prerequisites for the 100 percent fulfillment of the planned annual procurement of meat, milk, and other animal products. It is expected that their per capita consumption will exceed the original targets, set out for this year in the directive for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Consumption of meat and meat products, for example, will amount to 96.5 kg per capita, instead of the contemplated 92 kg."

It is understandable that the unplanned rise in meat consumption has intensified the disharmony between crop and animal farming. Despite the good harvest of cereal crops in the Czech Socialist Republic this year—it totalled 7,790,000 tonnes, 290,000 tonnes more than

planned—there will be considerable shortfall in feed grain. "Negotiations are therefore under way about the possibility for agricultural enterprises to borrow 600,000 tonnes of grain [from central resources], so that next year's requirements for grain-based feed mixtures are covered at least 81 to 85 percent."

Growers of winter rape brought in a record harvest this year. While the procurement plan stood at 262,000 tonnes, 308,000 tonnes have been procured already. This amount is expected to increase further, to approximately 311,000 tonnes. This should not only meet the growing requirements of the fat industry but should also make it possible to export some winter rape and purchase for the proceeds some herbicides and pesticides which are in short supply.

"The results of the hops harvest, too, are good. Although planned production was fulfilled only 96 percent, it will be possible to fully satisfy the interest of domestic customers and meet contracts that have been concluded with foreign partners."

Compared with previous years, certain improvement has also been recorded in vegetable growing. This does not apply to all varieties, however. Because gherkins were affected by mildew, only about 17 percent of the planned volume was procured this year. To avoid this risk in the years to come, a decision has been made to grow a more resistant variety, under a Belgian license.

Sugar beets continue to be our agriculture's Achilles' heel. This year, they are being grown on a smaller area than has been customary. "This fact, together with the negative consequences of a virus and physiological icterus for the growth and development of the crop, will deprive sugar refineries of a formidable quantity of raw material—approximately 600,000 to 800,000 tonnes."

Having harvested about 92 percent of the area under late potatoes by the beginning of this week, potato growers, too, do not expect to meet the planned output. Despite a strained situation, it should be possible, however, to fully meet the demands of the market, of the food industry, as well as of agricultural enterprises for seedlings for next spring.

Shortages Enumerated at News Conference

AU2510123189 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 2

["nn"-signed report: "More Goods for the Domestic Market"]

[Text] Prague (Our correspondent)—Currently, the production of a new type of a refrigerator-freezer under an Italian license is beginning, and it will be on the market soon. It is envisaged that 80,000 to 90,000 pieces of this product that is in short supply will be delivered to the market next year. This year's Christmas market will be enriched by 20,000 top-loading energy-efficient automatic washing machines of a new type. Engineer Bedrich

Vychodil, director of a department of the CSSR Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, provided this information at the regular Thursday [19 October] news conference on the deliberations of the CSSR Government.

Despite the fact that 75,000 Skoda Favorit passenger cars (the plan envisaged 58,000 cars) will be delivered to the domestic market, their sales are based until June 1990 on waiting lists. Free sales are expected to begin in the second half of the year. In 1990 their production will be in full swing and will reach 187,000 cars, of which 100,000 will be sold on the domestic market.

Deliveries of some products in short supply will require quite a while. For the time being it cannot be expected that the demand for sports bicycles will be satisfied. Their necessary production—700,000 a year—will be reached only in 1995. From other information it arose that the metallurgical, engineering, and electrotechnical industries will exceed their Kcs38 billion plan of goods deliveries in retail prices by almost Kcs1 billion.

The supply of the market with foodstuffs is good. According to Jaromir Algayer, minister of agriculture and food, their production is steadily rising and the demand, with a few exceptions caused, above all, by disproportionate purchases by some visitors from abroad, is being smoothly satisfied. Also, the local shortages of chickens in May were satisfactorily resolved by flexible transfers from region to region.

Food products in the CSSR account for 42 percent of the retail trade's turnover and constitute almost one-third of an average family's expenditure.

The demand for meat has become stabilized. In the past months of this year meat production was 600 tonnes greater than in the corresponding period last year. The production of dairy products rose by 7.5 percent. This has been made possible by an increased milk yield, which will exceed this year an average of 4,000 litres per cow CSSR-wide.

Minister Algayer also said that food products account for 12 percent of our exports and that the interest in our dehydrated milk has been steadily raising. Customers from developed capitalist countries give us preference before the traditional exporters from the coastal states of Western Europe. All this, among other things, attests to the high quality of our dehydrated milk.

To a question by journalists, the minister said that today we have stricter norms for the hygienic quality of foodstuffs than the majority of the neighboring states. However, it would be unrealistic to abandon chemical protection altogether. A bitter example of the consequence of the nonuse of chemical protective substances (not intentional, but caused by their shortage) was this year the occurrence of plant lice and lady-bugs, which deprived us of several thousands tonnes of grain and are to a great extent to blame for the nonfulfillment of this year's plan of sugar production.

Figures on Working Women, Child Care

AU2310205589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Zdena Stepankova in the "Facts" column:
"Mother Care Is Also Child Care"]

[Summary] "The mission of our new rubric 'Facts,' which we are starting today, is to familiarize readers with data from the most varied spheres of our society's life, using, as far as possible, the tersest language of all—the language of facts." In today's article we will discuss the problems of social policy as far as they concern families with children.

The following most important measures in favor of families with children have been adopted since the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

- Maternity leave has been extended from 26 to 28 weeks; instead of staying at home 4 weeks before the delivery date, mothers now stop working 6 weeks before giving birth;
- Since 1 July 1989, mothers looking after the third child, or additional children, have been receiving a maternity benefit of Kcs800 per month, instead of Kcs600 per month. The payment of maternity benefits to mothers looking after the second child, or additional children, has been extended from 2 to 3 years;
- Paid nursing leave has been extended to 5 working days per year;
- The upper limit of credits for newlyweds has been raised from Kcs30,000 to Kcs50,000 and the period of repayment has been extended to 15 years. The eligibility limit for this credit has been raised to Kcs6,000 per month per couple.
- The average monthly child allowance has increased from Kcs440 in 1985 to Kcs449 in 1988. Total social assistance to families with children (which includes tax breaks, rent rebates, and school meal subsidies) has increased from Kcs729 per child per month in 1985 to Kcs754 in 1988.

"Women account for 46.1 percent of the gainfully employed population of working age in Czechoslovakia." In several professions, including health care, education, retailing, and the textile, clothing, and leather working industries, they constitute the absolute majority of the labor force. A survey revealed that in 1987, 21.6 percent of working women worked in two shifts—21 percent of them were married with children and almost 19 percent were single mothers. The proportion of women with complete secondary education increased from 18.4 percent in 1980 to 26.6 percent in 1987 and the proportion of university-educated women from 5 percent to 7.5 percent. This means that women represent 50 percent of all secondary school and university graduates in Czechoslovakia. Fewer than 9 percent of women

in Czechoslovakia have part-time jobs, compared with 40 percent in Western Europe and 30 percent in the GDR.

TV Interviews Gorbachev on Parliament's Work

AU2510111589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 1

["zr"] Report on interview with Soviet party and state leader Mikhail Gorbachev by Miroslav Bouda, correspondent of Czechoslovak Television in Moscow: "Life Itself Influences the Soviet Parliament's Deliberations"—in Moscow on 23 October]

[Text] Moscow—Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, answered a question posed by Miroslav Bouda, Czechoslovak television's correspondent in Moscow, on Monday [23 October]. Czechoslovak Television broadcast the interview Monday evening.

[Bouda] Mikhail Sergeyevich, how do you assess the work of the first and the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet? What role does the Parliament play in Soviet society today?

[Gorbachev] I assess both the Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet (from June until August—RUDE PRAVO) very positively. In our life they constitute literally a breakthrough, and this breakthrough is deepening. If the Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet provided an example of democracy, openness, principledness and demandingness, and became the example of people's power, then the present, the second session of the Supreme Soviet, already is a normally functioning Parliament, the way it should be.

In this respect I am watching with great satisfaction how its professionalism has been increasing from one day to the next, how the principledness in its work has been growing. Here we must also take into consideration the fact that the current stage of restructuring is of great importance for us. After all, we have begun resolving the cardinal problems of our economy's development, we are facing the second stage of the political reform, and in that connection, we must adopt fundamental measures, regarding the restoring to health of finances, the economy, and the market. And precisely in this situation, it is important that those issues are being assessed with great responsibility, with great competence and professionalism.

At the same time, we not only feel what is taking place behind the Kremlin gates, but life itself directly influences the work of the Supreme Soviet. Sometimes it also shows that the Parliament does not proceed exactly typically, but when great politicization of masses is characteristic of the country, when, I would say, life is pulsating around, then the Parliament cannot sit comfortably in the hall. [sentences as published] Thus, life is a direct participant, it is present at the sessions, and

this—in my view—is an important element which reveals that the Parliament feels great responsibility toward the people, that it is tied with them by living bonds.

In any case, I think that the Parliament is getting stronger and will keep on intensifying its work.

USSR Railcar Shortage Holds Up Freight

LD2110204789 Prague Television Service
in Slovak 1830 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] We are showing you a picture which characterizes the situation of the last few weeks at the Cierna nad Tisou reloading railway station.

About 1,000 carriages with cargo have been delayed here by this morning. Altogether there are 52 trains on a sidetrack at Cierna nad Tisou and in other railway stations close to the border which contain goods for the Soviet Union. They contain technological equipment, furniture, chocolate and meat products which quickly go bad—goods from Czechoslovakia, but also transit cargo passing through our territory to Western Europe.

The reason why the dispatch of trains from Cierna to Cop has been temporarily halted is a shortage of empty covered carriages of Soviet railways onto which the goods are supposed to be reloaded.

According to our railwaymen's suggestion, the Soviet side should now make more use of containers for transport of goods to Czechoslovakia and in this way release a high enough number of covered carriages which are in short supply now.

The Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications and other organs are taking, in cooperation with Soviet partners, specific steps to solve the situation which has developed, in order to avoid the disruption of overall fulfillment of tasks regarding export to the Soviet Union.

Cypryriak-Led PZPR Delegation Visits 23 Oct

AU2510175289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (z)—A study delegation of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] headed by Kazimierz Cypryriak, head of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, arrived on Monday [23 October] at the invitation of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee. During its working visit experience will be exchanged on the two fraternal parties' control and auditing activity when it comes to implementing the resolutions of the 10th PZPR and the 17th CPCZ Congresses.

Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission, welcomed the guests at the airport.

Jakes Briefs Delegation

LD2610103489 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1645 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] In Prague today, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Kazimierz Cypryriak, member of the Polish United Workers Party Politburo and chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

Milos Jakes stressed the significance of further developing cooperation between the two parties and countries which have long-standing deep roots. He spoke about the present internal political situation in our country as well as some international issues. He focused on the tasks which the party, including its control and audit organs, must tackle in preparing for the 18th congress. He acquainted the guest with the preparations of a draft of the new party statutes which aim at deepening the principle of collectivism and democracy within the party. It will be put forward for public discussion.

Kazimierz Cypryriak briefed him on new phenomena in internal political developments in Poland and on the conditions for the party's activities. He said he appreciated receiving the information gained during the delegation's stay in Czechoslovakia.

Kazimierz Cypryriak was also received today by Miroslav Stepan, member of the party Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the party city committee in Prague.

Poland's Kubasiewicz Visits, Holds Talks

Meets Stepan

LD2310125889 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1130 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, met today with a delegation of the Warsaw City Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Committee headed by Janusz Kubasiewicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw City Party Committee.

He briefed his guests on some aspects of restructuring society in the period leading up to the 18th CPCZ Congress. Both sides exchanged experience of political and social development in the Polish and Czechoslovak capitals.

Discusses Relations With Jakes

LD2410095189 Prague CTK in English
1935 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes met here today with Politburo Member of the Polish United Workers Party

and First Secretary of the PUWP Warsaw City Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz who heads a delegation on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

In a comradely discussion, Milos Jakes appreciated the intensity of contacts between the two parties, which are beneficial particularly for their working character and informal exchange of information and experiences. He briefed the Polish official of the Czechoslovak Party's approaches to the implementation of the economic reform and democratization process.

Janusz Kubasiewicz informed Milos Jakes of the party's policy at present and spoke positively of the development of cooperation between the party organizations of the Czechoslovak and Polish capitals.

Departs 23 Oct

LD2410110189 Prague CTK in English
2115 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—The delegation of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), led by PUWP Central Committee Politburo Member and PUWP Warsaw City Committee First Secretary Janusz Kubasiewicz, finished here later today their official working visit to Czechoslovakia and went back to Warsaw.

During their three days' stay here, the delegation met representatives of the political and public life and they exchanged during informal talks opinions on the current political and social events, mainly in the Polish and Czechoslovak capitals.

Prague, Bonn Sign Technological Agreement

LD2510132189 Prague CTK in English
1224 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—An agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Federal Institute for Normalization and Measurement and the West German Institute for Normalization (DIN) providing for a deeper cooperation between the two institutes in technical normalization and certification was signed here today.

The two partners will cooperate within the framework of international organizations and will exchange information, documents as well as specialists. They will provide help to other countries' enterprises in settling issues concerning normalization and certification in goods exchange.

Deputy Foreign Minister Addresses UNESCO Meeting

LD2110164189 Prague CTK in English
1511 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Paris Oct 21 (CTK correspondent)—A number of positive changes which have taken place in UNESCO under the leadership of new General Director Federico Mayor were appreciated by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek who spoke at the UNESCO general conference here today.

He voiced the conviction that the 25th session of the General Assembly will become an important milestone in the organization's history and that it will contribute to strengthening its role as a significant world centre of all-round cultural and scientific cooperation.

Evzen Vacek said Czechoslovakia is interested in the realization of the idea of a common European home, and recalled in this connection the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states presented by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes. Czechoslovakia resolutely rejects all actions opening up the road to attempts to challenge the territorial and political realities aimed at changing the postwar set-up in Europe.

Evzen Vacek appreciated the focus placed by UNESCO on the environment. Czechoslovakia suffering from the negative consequences of strong industrialization is actively working for ecological initiatives on both the global and subregional levels.

The deputy foreign minister said that the first concrete results have been yielded by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec' initiative on ecology in central Europe. Cooperation of Czechoslovak experts and UNESCO in this sphere has a long tradition.

Evzen Vacek also recalled the activity of the European laboratory for the electrochemistry of the environment based in Prague, and Czechoslovakia's active participation in the UNESCO-sponsored "Man and the Biosphere" program.

Krenz Visit to USSR To Start 31 Oct

LD3010181189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1726 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, will travel to the USSR on Tuesday [31 October] for his announced working visit. He is following up the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Deputy Foreign Minister Visits U.S.

AU3010213689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 25 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR-U.S. Consultations in Washington Concluded"]

[Text] Washington (ADN)—At the conclusion of his 2-day consultations in Washington, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier has drawn up a positive balance of his talks in the U.S. State Department and in the National Security Council. During all meetings, the readiness for and interest in the further expansion of relations were expressed. Good results were pointed out concerning the exchange of scientists, fishery, and environmental protection. In other fields there are still reservations, such as in removing the obstacles in trade and in scientific-technological cooperation.

Nier said that the meetings offered the opportunity to discuss the whole range of the most important international questions, particularly those which are linked with disarmament and European security. He stated that he had stressed that the existence of the two German states is an indispensable factor for security and peace in Europe.

Demonstrations Take Place in Several Cities

150,000 in Leipzig

AU3010182389 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Today about 150,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Leipzig for concrete results of the change initiated in the GDR. In choruses they called for free elections, for the admission of the New Forum, and for the complete clearing up of the police excesses on 7 October.

According to correspondents' reports, they also called for new political structures for a credible democratization. In addition, they called for the resignation of those politicians who, in high positions, are responsible for the mistakes that have led to the current situation.

Mayor Seidel faced the demonstrating citizens in Karl Marx Square for a dialogue. So far we have not yet any information about this.

Gatherings in Halle, Schwerin

LD3010222889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1905 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In several cities in the GDR citizens demonstrated this evening.

Leipzig Mayor Dr Bernd Seidel and other local politicians answered demonstrators' questions in the city's Karl-Marx Square. In doing this, the city's fathers were reacting to the demands of the population in the fair city, and which are being made more and more loudly, to publicly comment on the situation.

The mayor agreed with the citizens to solve as quickly as possible the local problems that have been broached at the extraordinary assembly of city councillors. They concern areas such as the health service, trade and supply, housing construction, and town redevelopment as well as local traffic in the region.

On the subject of environmental protection he announced that in the Leipzig area as well, beginning in November, data concerning the territory will be published. The mayor said that concrete demands from Leipzig are before the minister for environmental protection and water management. In this way, material preconditions for the application of the smog order, which has been in existence for a long time, should be created. Dr Seidel at the same time urged that necessary decisions at a central level be made urgently and without delay. While a multitude of economic and political solutions have to be thoroughly prepared, personal changes are immediately up for debate.

Slogans such as "environmental protection instead of environmental dirtying" and "let deeds follow, we are present" were carried along by about 50,000 demonstrators who marched through the city center of Halle. The demonstration, which started at the market church, made its way through the pedestrian precinct to the building of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area executive.

Chanting in unison, the citizens demanded concrete answers from the first area secretary on the topics of a larger role in affairs of the city and the state, press freedom and freedom of speech, greater rule of law, and reforms in education as well. During all this time, People's Police saw to it that the traffic was diverted.

After peace prayers in three churches, a demonstration procession formed through the Schwerin city center. Around 40,000 inhabitants marched initially to the Old Garden, the traditional rallying place of the people of Schwerin. A speaker called for peaceful and non-violent demonstration and pleaded for freedom of the press and information, freedom to travel, and the implementation of the performance principle on all levels. There was then a march through the inner city. The demonstrators demanded on banners the abolition of privileges and equal rights for all parties, among other things.

More than 20,000 people took part in a demonstration in the center of Karl-Marx Square. On banners "democracy—now" and civil alternative military service for the health service were demanded.

Following the demonstration, which lasted almost an hour, the participants gathered in front of the town hall and stated their demands and considerations. Dr Eberhard Langer, the mayor, said that a catalogue of demands is being drawn up by staff in the area hospital and staff of the city council will temporarily work in the national economy.

Around 800 citizens took part in peace prayers in the town church in Poessneck (Gera Area). Following this, about 5,000 demonstrators marched silently through the inner city to the town hall. On banners they demanded "Free elections—free citizens", "Social welfare is necessary" and "Civil service [alternative military service] is a human right—reform of the health service."

After more than an hour and a half of debate the ranks of those gathered in the center of Cottbus this evening proposed to continue the dialogue about burning questions on a sensible basis and in the same place. More than 20,000 citizens had demonstrated beforehand and gone to the forecourt of the city hall. After most of the participants in the meeting agreed to the proposal, Werner Walde, candidate of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus area SED executive said, "I am ready for further dialogue and will be here."

Partly motivated by genuine concern, but also partly hot-headedly, unobjectively, and interrupted by whistles, citizens presented their questions and opinions. It is true that much has been achieved in the GDR, but it is also true that successes have been overvalued and problems in the development of society have not been recognized in time, Werner Walde said. He accepted part of the responsibility for that. Most participants in the meeting agreed with comments that it is now a matter of finding the key to solving the tasks on the agenda.

TV Covers Protests

LD3010213189 Hamburg DPA in German
1857 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin—The GDR television news program "Aktuelle Kamera" [AK] broadcasted a live relay on the demonstration in Leipzig. The reporter estimated the number of demonstrators at around 300,000, as in the previous week. At around 1730 GMT the demonstrators marched from the city to the main railway station.

During the program, an interview was shown with the mayor of Leipzig, Bernd Seidel. He stressed that the discussion groups which have been set up are open to all citizens.

AK also reported live from a demonstration in Schwerin. It said that today the citizens could discuss their questions in public. The reporter said beforehand that the

event was different to how it was a week ago. He, too, had been disappointed at that time that there were only ever proclamations, and that nothing was done.

FDGB National Executive Council Meets

LD3010105489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0945 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Executive Council of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] assembled this morning for its 10th session. The press office of the National Executive Council stated to ADN that the approximately 250 members and candidate members of the body are holding discussions in a closed session.

The National Executive Council is in charge of the work of the GDR trade union association between the FDGB national congresses.

Tisch Addresses Meeting

LD3010124789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1136 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] National Executive, set out ideas for the future work of the trade unions at the 10th session of the FDGB National Executive today. The 250 members and candidate members of the National Executive, which manages the work of the trade unions between the FDGB national congresses, began their consultations in closed session this morning.

Following the remarks by the FDGB chairman, the discussion began. At Tisch's suggestion, and after approval by the National Executive, the press was admitted.

Session Opened to Media

AU3010133789 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Harry Tisch said before the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] that the work of trade unions should be analyzed critically and that the FDGB should be open to all workers' proposals, in order to push forward socialism. The FDGB chairman referred to criticism voiced by many trade unionists in the past weeks. He said that the situation showed that confidence had been lost. However, the National Executive Council intended to regain this confidence, he said. Trade union members were now expecting a clear position as to how things should go on. Harry Tisch said that, for the FDGB, representing the workers' interests meant supporting all those in the country who worked diligently. In this sense, Tisch advocated a realistic plan for 1990 which could be fulfilled. This plan would have to create conditions to gradually abolish disproportions and intermittent production.

Harry Tisch called upon the individual trade unions to draft proposals on new framework collective agreements and the labor code, and to submit them for public discussion. Discussing criticism of the holiday program,

he said that the FDGB guest houses in Warnemuende and Schmoeckwitz would be made available to the holiday program.

The session had begun behind closed doors. Journalists were admitted after objections had been made.

Tisch To Ask for Vote

LD3010184189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Due to the many requests to speak, the 10th meeting of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] National Executive Committee, which opened in Berlin today, will continue tomorrow.

Today's meeting began with a speech by FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch, in which he reaffirmed his intention to ask for a vote of confidence. This question will be decided tomorrow by an open ballot of National Executive Committee members, after the debate.

Tisch Asks for Vote

LD3010135789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Free German Trades Union Federation [FDGB] discussed the content and style of its past and future trade union work at its session today. FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch spoke in favor of subjecting the FDGB's work to critical analysis and being receptive to all proposals which advance it on the socialist path. The situation shows that trust has been lost and that it is the National Executive's desire to regain it.

Harry Tisch asked for a vote of confidence, noting the numerous critical remarks made by trade unionists in the past weeks, as well as on the youth television program "Elf 99" on Saturday. He asked the National Executive members to express their opinions on this and stressed: "If the National Executive gives me a vote of confidence, I am prepared to work in line with the work program under discussion here and as a member of my party. If the National Executive does not express trust in me, I will also accept that decision."

Our members, Harry Tisch said, now expect a clear position from us about how we should proceed. Being an FDGB representative of the interests of the working people means supporting all the people of our country who work diligently. In this sense, the FDGB supports a Plan for 1990 which can be realistically fulfilled and which will create conditions to gradually overcome disproportions and discontinuous production. He called on the industrial trade unions and trade unions to draft new proposals for collective agreements and wages and submit them for discussion. Rights and duties must be reviewed and the labor code redrafted in this regard.

Turning to criticism about the FDGB's holiday service, he announced that the FDGB guest houses in Warnemuende and Schmoeckwitz will be made available to the holiday service.

Confidence Vote Postponed

LD3010184389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] National Executive Committee postponed until 17 November the decision on whether its chairman, Harry Tisch, should remain in office. The National Executive Committee thus approved by a great majority—with 5 votes against and 2 abstentions—a motion by Presidium Member Werner Heilemann. Earlier, Tisch had asked for a vote of confidence.

On behalf of the Presidium, Heilemann submitted a proposal to adjourn the 10th meeting of the National Executive Committee, which began in Berlin today, to mid-November. Harry Tisch pointed out that a 3-week postponement might put too great a burden on the FDGB.

Federation Statement

LD3110002789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the first statement by the National Executive Committee of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] is as follows:

The National Executive Committee of the FDGB, filled with deep concern, appeals to the 9 million members of its trade unions. We see our workers' and peasants' power and socialism in serious danger. What we have created with our joint work must not be put at risk. The strengthening of the GDR is our very own cause. Our country needs the conscious deed of every trade unionist. We want a life in the GDR to become more attractive and the trade unions to be a genuine representative of all working people in this socialism. The National Executive Committee states its determination to do everything possible for a change in trade union work. The FDGB management bodies have received thousands of statements from shop stewards, trade union groups, department trade union committees, and works trade union committees containing the reproach that we did not fight in time and consistently against the accumulated problems and against examples of distortion and ignorance. We face up to this guilt without any ifs and but's. We will no longer tolerate the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the trade unions not being observed or being restricted.

As a united, independent, and free trade union we want:

—To militantly champion the interests of the working class and all other working people in every situation. We regard the protection of the workers' interests as our paramount duty;

- To turn the face of our whole organization towards the work collectives. It is our trade union concern to help them in trusting cooperation to work well, to earn good money, and to buy good products;
- To work more consistently so that young people can join in taking all decisions that affect their life and work. We are in favor of giving more concrete responsibility to our working peoples;
- To ensure that value is attached to the voice of the members. Their thoughts, proposals, and criticisms should count in all decisions. It is a matter of constantly, comprehensively informing of the working people, of less paper and more trusting work for the individual;
- The rights of the works trade union committees must be expanded. It is a matter of greater authority and independence of industrial trade unions and trade unions particularly in wages and rates-of-pay policy. The framework collective agreements must be examined and necessary conclusions drawn;
- Paying attention to the many suggestions of our members we will contribute more decisively to the implementation of the performance principle;
- We want to implement labor, health, and environmental protection as a unity. Honorary environment inspectors can be elected in the works trade union committees;
- The People's Chamber group of the FDGB will be charged by the National Executive Committee with energetically assisting the carrying through of the legislation initiatives of the FDGB.

We are most emphatically in favor of the standards of holiday homes being raised, of homes being renovated and modernized, and of new buildings being placed in the national economic plan and speedily completed. All holiday establishments must be fully utilized. The FDGB guest houses in Warnemuende and Schmoeckwitz will be handed over to the FDGB Holiday Service for use from 1 December 1989 and made available primarily to shift workers.

In order to be able to better provide families with school-age children with holiday places, we suggest a review of the school holiday regulations.

We expect an explanation from the government on the economic situation. We demand information with regard to what conditions must be created so that the 1989 economic plan is fulfilled in all branches of industry, so that the continuity of production is ensured, and supplies of materials and spare parts are guaranteed. Wherever changes to the 1990 plan are necessary, it must be shown to the work teams and trade union opinion must be sought at a full meeting of shop stewards.

For the 1990 plan, the unity of plan, balance sheet, and contract must be ensured. On this basis the trade unions

organize competition and conclude binding works collective agreements. We expect a thorough examination of the export-import structure in the interests of higher economic efficiency, and of better supplies to the population.

The FDGB proposes for the People's Chamber's legislation plan:

—A law on increased authority for worker and people's control;

—a law on social security and a pensions law.

The FDGB National Executive Committee suggests that the government elaborate specific measures for the application of the performance principle, the development of the tax system, and an improvement of material working conditions. This also includes examination of the present practice of the end-of-year bonus. The government must guarantee that trade union influence on price and subsidy policy is ensured. A new status and a revised version of the labor law book are to be submitted to the FDGB Congress. The election regulations of the FDGB are also to be revised.

Having evaluated the ninth meeting of the SED Central Committee and the statement by Egon Krenz of the GDR State Council to the 10th meeting of the People's Chamber, the National Executive Committee contributes these proposals to the debate on current questions. It urges that these ideas are widely discussed at meetings of trade union members, and that there should be vigorous collaboration in putting them into practice.

We want to regain the trust of all members. We must not disappoint anyone.

Trade union work must be determined by a new content at all levels. With strenuous work we are, alongside the SED and its leaders, making our contribution to the change in our socialist society and to the safeguarding of peace. We firmly adhere to proletarian internationalism and want to deepen friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We submit this first standpoint to all trade union members and ask them to send their suggestions to the National Executive Committee by 16 November, 1989.

The National Executive Committee will continue its 10th meeting on 17 November. It will make a statement on the state of the discussion, make a decision on an immediate program, and decide on the vote of confidence asked for by Chairman Harry Tisch.

Longer Meeting Urged

AU3110113489 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] The Berlin Bezirk leadership of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] today has urged the immediate continuation of the National Executive Council meeting. It says in a statement that numerous

trade union officials and members expressed their disappointment during the night and early morning hours that the meeting was interrupted without result yesterday [30 October] and was adjourned to the middle of November. It adds that there are considerable concerns about the existence of the unified trade union. Everything must be done to prevent the further loss of confidence, the statement says.

The Berlin Bezirk leadership demands that the FDGB National Executive Council promptly formulate an initial definition of the trade union's position on the process of renewal of the socialist society in the GDR and decide on the vote of confidence asked for by Chairman Harry Tisch. At the same time, unhindered media coverage must be guaranteed by the meeting.

Krenz Assumes Post; Calls for 'New Start'

AU3010152789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 25 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Egon Krenz: We Need a New Start, Everyone in His Place"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [24 October] Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, officially assumed the office of chairman of the GDR State Council. Coming from the session of the supreme people's representative body which had elected him to the highest office of the state, he was welcomed with military honors in front of the State Council seat in Berlin's Marx-Engels Square. An honorary formation of the "Friedrich Engels" guard regiment of the National People's Army presented arms to pay him their respect. A music corps played the GDR anthem and the banner of the State Council chairman was raised on the official residence building.

Several thousand citizens had gathered opposite the State Council building. They vigorously applauded the new head of state. Egon Krenz expressed his cordial thanks. We need a new start, everyone in his place, regardless of whether he works in an enterprise or in the administration, whether he is the head of state and the party—old and young together; there is no other way, he said. This has always been our strength and this is to remain so in the future, too.

To assume his official duties, Egon Krenz then entered the building in Marx-Engels Square. In the hall he was received by the State Council employees. We all have a privilege, the State Council chairman said, addressing his associates, and this is hard work and again more work. If we fulfill this assignment, Egon Krenz stated, the trust of the people will be on our side. We have to struggle for it anew every day, and this is not easy. Therefore, it was said before the People's Chamber that heartless and bureaucratic actions must be prevented forever, he noted.

Krenz Receives Military Training Graduates

LD3010142589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1327 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Officers from the National People's Army and other armed forces who have completed their academic training this year were received today by Egon Krenz in the Berlin headquarters of the GDR State Council. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany secretary congratulated the approximately 450 graduates on the successful completion of their studies in institutions of the GDR, the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR.

The future commanders, political and staff officers will take up their new appointments at a time that requires from everyone the greatest efforts of all their powers and the highest concentration of thoughts, the chairman of the State Council and of the National Defense Council said in his speech. Based on the joint achievements that can bear sensible reflection by everyone, GDR society is experiencing a revolutionary awakening to far-reaching changes for more socialism and democracy.

Addresses Graduates

LD3010184289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1540 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Our party has turned to look the people fully in the face and is looking the truth in the eye. Whoever wants to find the right answers to the complex development of our society first needs a realistic analysis of the situation which is free of any wishful thinking." This was stated by Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary Egon Krenz to graduates of military academies today. Nothing would be worse than to make promises "for which no foundations exist. Our party is in favor of a policy that serves the people and that calls for honesty and sincerity."

At the reception, the chairman of the State Council and of the national Defense Council congratulated the officers of the national People's Army [NVA], the GDR frontier troops, and of the other defense and security organs on successfully ending their studies at the training establishments in the GDR, the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR.

The meeting at the official seat of the State Council, in which Prime Minister Willi Stoph, People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, Army General Erich Mielke, and other public figures also took part, was attended by members of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army who have trained in the GDR.

In his address, Egon Krenz stated that the officers were entering into service at a time which required the utmost harnessing of forces and the greatest concentration of thoughts on everyone's part. On the basis of what has been jointly achieved, which on sensible reflection can still stand up to everyone and the gaze of the whole

world, GDR society is experiencing a revolutionary departure with far-reaching changes for greater socialism and more democracy.

"Many people are now going on the streets with self-assurance and shouting: 'We are the people,'" said Krenz. But the people include everyone. "Those who ensure the functioning of production and supply bread for the people in day and night shifts, who work for the health service and the supply sector, those who look after children and ensure law and order, those who protect our country in the services—indeed all of us who bear responsibility for normality existing every moment on the dividing line between socialism and capitalism."

Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler had first announced the training results.

After a vote of thanks from various graduates, Egon Krenz again addressed the audience. He said that at present many questions are being asked. For a communist it is very important to answer them. It is not always possible to give a concrete answer to each concrete question. But it must be clear "which party, which cause we are representing. Here there must be no wavering or hesitation."

Egon Krenz stressed that with the Politburo's toleration, underdevelopment of criticism and self-criticism had been permitted.

They had not reacted quickly enough to questions posed by life. They had allowed something "which our statute actually rules out: That a situation is assessed more positively than it is in reality."

Egon Krenz said that whoever concluded from this "that our party is not capable of exercising its leading role, underestimates the strength of our party, underestimates the experiences of our party and underestimates the over 2 million members and candidate members that that party unites."

Further on Remarks

LD3010210889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"No matter how many questions exist, it is indisputable that the future of the GDR lies in socialism and nowhere else." This was stated by Egon Krenz, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, in Berlin today at a reception for graduates of GDR military establishments. "The citizens of all classes and strata, our fathers and mothers, we and our children have not created together a socialist republic with great effort and defended it against all attacks by the class opponent only to hand it over on a plate." Krenz said it is still the case and should more than ever be taken into consideration that only the revolution that can also defend itself is worthwhile. For the peoples of Europe, the most decisive factor is that with the GDR, a state has come about which produces the following message, indeed certainty:

Everything done here is subordinate to the principle that war must never again emanate from German soil. He described the preservation of peace as the cardinal task of the present.

This responsibility determined the essence of the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member-states. It determined the goal and purpose of the efforts to defend the socialist fatherland and fulfil all the obligations undertaken in the Warsaw Pact.

"To be a soldier under socialism means serving peace," the speaker stressed. This would be experienced by the National People's Army [NVA] members during their training and by the world in the implementation of the GDR's unilateral disarmament measures.

One cannot fail to see, however, how differently and inconsistently the ruling circles in influential NATO states are behaving toward the new demands and possibilities of the preservation of peace. It must cause concern when a new version of the policy of strength is coupled with both the growth of right-wing extremism in the FRG and with gross interference in the internal affairs of the GDR. "This faces the GDR, which is committed to peace with all elements of its policy, with the need not to flag its vigilance by one iota and to counter every effort to destabilize the socialist state," Egon Krenz said, and added: "a stable GDR is an important building block for the common European home."

With the further emphasizing of their defensive nature, the Armed Forces of the GDR have entered into a new phase of development. A unified process of reorganization and restructuring is taking place. The task is to accomplish the defense task with high quality and efficiency.

The members of the Armed Forces will in the future contribute even more strongly to the implementation of the GDR's foreign policy strategy which is directed toward detente and disarmament. Among the features of the new stage of development of the Armed Forces is also the fact that forces of the National People's Army are being included in the solution of economic tasks and are increasing their economic performance. This met with great public recognition.

Krenz then turned to leadership and training tasks. At present an improvement of the entire activity is taking place in order to make it more comprehensible and direct. The strength of the Armed Forces will continue in the future to lie in leadership by our party, he stressed. More than ever, the experience that no one is wiser than a wise collective is borne out.

To be in command and to act decisively should therefore always be coupled with the need to seek the advice of the party organization and the comrades of the management collective and quite deliberately include those who have to implement the decisions. "Speaking with each other, seeking solutions together for people, and above all working with each other—that is the requirement of our time."

Young people's choice of a military career enjoys unreservedly the respect of society, the general secretary stressed. "Our people knows its debt to the sons of the working class, the cooperative farmers, and the socialist intelligentsia and the Armed Forces they lead, to enable each person to carry out his work day in day out." Recruiting young people for a military career remains a paramount social task.

With the ninth SED Central Committee session, the party placed itself at the head of the movement for a qualitative turning point [Wendepunkt] in our society. That turning point, Egon Krenz stressed in conclusion, was "not a renunciation of socialism but on the contrary, an even greater orientation towards socialism, a more deliberate exploitation of its possibilities, an even more direct inclusion of all citizens of our country in the shaping of society."

After the graduates addressed the audience with brief speeches, Egon Krenz again took the platform, stressing what it means to be a communist in these times. At no time has it been easy to represent the truth—neither after 1945, nor in other periods. "And for that reason, I believe that even in this difficult situation there is something that we have in common with all the situations which we have been through: The party is wherever the individual communist is active and does not allow things to defeat him."

Krenz underlined: "What is decisive is the unity and cohesion of the party; without it we will fail to bring about the unity and cohesion of our entire society. We have to fight for trust, to win trust. We are prepared to do so."

Herger Comments on Recent Police Actions

AU3010154689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 25 Oct 89 pp 1,3

["All People Are Equal Before the Constitution. Before the Law; Statement by Wolfgang Herger, Chairman of the People's Chamber National Defense Committee, to the State Council"]

[Text] Comrade Chairman, esteemed State Council members:

I know that many GDR citizens have questions in connection with the police actions over the past few weeks.

I make the following statement on this:

As a People's Chamber deputy and as chairman of the National Defense Committee I can and would like to say here—I also do this on behalf of Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the People's Chamber Constitution and Law Committee—that at all events of the past weeks the protection and security organs have always received the explicit order to exercise utmost restraint and to interfere only if acts of violence were threatened or committed as a result of the gathering of crowds. This applies to all such gatherings, in particular in Dresden, Leipzig,

and Berlin, because it is here that the largest unregistered demonstrations were to take place and did take place.

An order by the then-chairman of the National Defense Council says:

"The active use of police forces and means will take place only if the demonstrators use violence against the security forces or against objects. "The use of firearms in connection with potential demonstrations is banned on principle."

This order was prepared and suggested by Egon Krenz, who was elected chairman of the GDR State council today.

An explanation of this order says: "All necessary measures are to be taken to ensure a peaceful end of the potential demonstrations. All measures are to take into account that the situation must not escalate."

You know that the absolute majority of all demonstrations over the past weeks were peaceful and that, therefore, the use of police means was not necessary.

However, as the public also knows, in particular in Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin, excesses were committed on 7 and 8 October, which were clearly directed against state security and public order and endangered the peaceful life of citizens.

Rowdies and people performing acts of violence emerged from gatherings of people, which had started out peacefully, and committed verbal and physical attacks against public order and against the police forces that were used there.

Abusive shouts such as "police pigs," "Stasi [State Security Service] pigs," "Kill them," "Hang them," "We want to see a green corpse," "Cut their bellies open" directed against female members of the security organs, are only some of the threats made to members of the People's Police and the Ministry of State Security. The following instruments were used: iron bars, iron balls, blackjacks, fire bottles, sprays with irritant substances, stones, bottles, etc. There were 106 injured among the members of the protective and security organs, and 46 among the demonstrators.

In Berlin the so-called demonstration on 7 October started in Alexanderplatz with the call: "Forward to the Brandenburg Gate." Reconnaissance had shown that this had to be considered as a call for a forcible mass breaking through the border.

I do not want to mention that at the same time high-ranking international guests were gathered in the Palace of the Republic for the protection of whom our state is naturally responsible.

Unfortunately, innocent bystanders were also hurt during these police actions. Powers were exceeded and

unlawful actions were committed by members of the protection and security organs in dealing with those who were arrested.

I know that there have been personal talks with most citizens who have complained. Leading members of the People's Police have apologized to these citizens. A total of 83 complaints and reports are being currently checked. So far four investigations have been started.

The GDR prosecutor general has been ordered to thoroughly investigate every single case.

However, I also want to stress: One should not arouse general resentment against the protection and security organs because of the misdeeds of some members.

The constitutional assignment of the protection and security organs is to protect our peaceful life. This is what they have always done. And this should be recognized by all working people of our country at all times.

I affirm that any violation of the law—no matter who committed it—will be punished on the basis of our Constitution and of the GDR laws. All people are equal before the Constitution, before the law.

Further on Protocols on Police Excesses

AU2710145189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
26 Oct 89 p 6

["We Will Show You What Democracy Means"]

[Text] During the days and nights after 7 October 1989 the GDR state organs tried to intimidate the population with brutal violence. The Berlin City Youth Parson's Office collated the statements of the people involved to form a shocking documentation:

—When the car stopped and the back opened, I immediately realized that we were in Immanuelkirchstrasse. The big aluminum entrance was wide open. I saw a corridor, about 5 to 8 meters long, with about 20 policemen and two or three helpers of the People's Police with rubber truncheons forming rows on both sides. At the same time, one or two policemen shouted: "Forward, at the double!" and started to beat the first ones in front of me. Then it was my turn.... I held my arms in front of my face, arrived in a yard, and heard commands: "Face the wall, spread your legs, lift your arms, hands on the wall." ... I noticed a policeman approaching me from behind. He kicks my calves and shouts: "Farther away from the door, spread your legs and arms further!" I am now about 90 centimeters from the wall. My legs are apart about as much, my arms are stretched straight to the wall. I stand like this for about 1 and ½ hours. During this time, identity cards are collected and people are beaten for not standing "correctly." ... After the 1 and ½ hours have passed, I am ordered to march on the double into the open garage. There I am tortured because of this particularly extreme position of my body. I had to stand by the wall in the "usual"

position. Then a policeman came from behind and ordered me to move away from the wall and to spread my legs even farther apart, saying, "We will teach you democracy." Now I was standing about 1.2 meters from the wall, with my legs also about 1.2 meters apart, and my hands stretched to the wall. I was threatened with a beating if I collapsed. After about 20 minutes I collapsed. The policemen laughed and said that they were humane and I was permitted to kneel.

—I embraced my girlfriend to protect her belly, since she is 4 months pregnant. To avoid the beating I repeatedly shouted that she was pregnant. A policeman who had followed us, hit her breast, but then moved on; four or five civilians, however "took care" of us by continuing to beat us. One of them repeatedly tried to hit my girlfriend's belly, which we protected. Since he did not manage this he repeatedly hit us on the thighs. During the whole time I was shouting that my girlfriend was pregnant, until I was strangled so much that I could not get any air. We were torn apart. I was dragged to the bus (only there did I manage to escape the stranglehold). Shortly afterwards my girlfriend was pushed into the bus. We told one of the civilians in the bus that my girlfriend was pregnant. She showed him her pregnancy card. After the bus had turned the corner, it briefly stooped, and she was permitted to leave the bus.

—The responsible official said that I would be presented to the responsible prosecutor later.... We were driven in the direction of Buch where, I believe, we were taken into the army barracks. Upon arrival we had to face the wall together with the other people who had been arrested. We were abused with cries of "rabble," "shut up," "niggers." When facing the wall I suffered a circulatory collapse and fell down. My brother wanted to take care of me; for this he was beaten with a stick and was shouted at: "Face the wall." I recovered a bit and was accused of hanging policemen in Alexanderplatz but playing the weakling here. I was pushed up the stairs. Upstairs I had to undress completely and do five knee bends. When I did not do this fast enough and desperately asked "Why, why?" I received a few blows with a stick and had to stretch my hands to the wall and spread my legs; because I did not do this well enough they hit the inside of my calves until I collapsed again. I had to dress quickly again, after they had trampled over my jacket, and run to the room at the double. In the room there were five beds and there were 10 of us. I was the only one permitted to lie on the bed while the others had to sit. We were not permitted to sleep! Some time passed, during which I overheard some conversation by the policemen. They harassed one of our fellow prisoners by having him jump up and down the stairs in a squatting position. They said: "We will wade into him so much that tomorrow he will not be able to move because of the pain from this overexertion. You want to hang policemen in Alexanderplatz, we will get our revenge on you." One policeman told the other that he

had been drinking and that he had slept only 4 hours since Saturday morning. In the morning we were handed our things. We were loaded onto a truck and taken to Blankenfelde train station. Now, finally, after 32 hours, we were released.

—I was standing in this garage from a quarter to one until ten in the morning. I cannot describe the details of what happened there one thing after another. In my memory now, 3 days later, these hours condense to a few moments, images, and phrases, and what remains are the remnants of this night. The shouted sentences: "Do you want special treatment!" "Piss into your trousers or sweat it out of your ribs." "Quiet!" "Heads to the wall." "Do you not understand German." "You knew that beforehand." The low phrases which I sometimes heard from outside: "This one." "Let them stand until they give up." "But one after the other." "Individually." "No." The light from the fluorescent tubes, the bowed heads of the men in front of me. The slight push I felt in the neck when the man behind me fell asleep and touched me with his head. In front, in the left corner, one man turned around and said: "I am sick, I cannot stand anymore." A voice behind me said: "That is not our problem." The boy, with a face like a child, slowly sat down on the concrete floor. Behind me someone shouts: "Stand up!" Two policemen passed by my left side. They dragged the boy up and pressed him against the left wall of the garage so that he could no longer be seen behind their bodies. I saw the rubber truncheons which were dangling from their wrists. I remember exactly the questioning face of one of the policemen, who was looking outside.... And I remember that it was completely quiet. The policeman looked outside, which was behind me. After some time, the policeman said: "He is gone." Then they unhanded the boy and he collapsed.

—I was one of the last to be interrogated. For about 1 and ½ hours, I was supposed to provide complete information about what I had done since 6 October.

My attempt to describe what I saw and experienced on 8 October 1989 after the 1800 religious service in Gethsemane Church did not interest anyone. What they were interested in was whether there was a possibility to keep me arrested longer and whether I was willing to finger the employees of Gethsemane Church as the ringleaders in the protocol, which I did not do.

No one was interested in the brutal violence of the hitmen of the Ministry of State Security, who I saw run toward the retreating crowd between bulldozers with red and white protective shields and through double rows of policemen; no one was interested in the fact that I had seen who they arbitrarily grabbed, women and men, dragged them across Schoenhauser Allee, and beat them, how they were dragged behind the police lines, behind which they simply disappeared. No one was interested in and asked about the fear of the people with candles in their hands, whom I saw calming down a man, who was gesticulating 20 meters in front of the police lines and bulldozers. The statement by Colonel Dietze, chief of

staff of the People's Police Directorate, that arrests were unavoidable only after demonstrators had bodily attacked the policemen, is not true. Twice I saw how people who took photos were beaten up until they bled. I did not see any stones flying and I did not see any steel rods among the people in the street, but I saw people who were shouting because of fear and pain. No one was interested in that. I did not tell that I saw how an onlooker in black leather boots, black leather trousers, and black leather jacket with closely cropped hair and a white headband was dragged across the street by the henchmen of the Ministry of State Security; he was able to pull out a small foldable identity card, which had him released immediately. No one was interested in the fact that the non-commissioned officers, who had surrounded Gethsemane Church at the end of the religious service and did not let anybody out for quite some time and to whom I had talks said, "We also want changes but we have our orders." No one was interested, either, that the officer who commanded them only said, "No comment" when I asked him why the church was being surrounded. No one was interested in the fact that we were afraid and I did not talk about this. "Do not always say we," the interrogator said, "Say I." I was at the end of my strength. I signed the interrogation protocol about my approximate actions during the day and also a statement that I had been instructed about my rights. This instruction consisted in the answer to my question what my rights are: "You can complain," the interrogator said.

—In the evening of 7 October 1989, I went to Schoenhauser Allee with a girlfriend to spend the evening in a coffee house or in a night bar. At that time we did not yet know anything about the unrest in Schoenhauser Allee....

We did not know what to do....

Suddenly Daenenstrasse was also closed at Seelower Strasse....

We ran into a house. Without having rung a bell, tenants asked us to come into their apartments.

Many tenants looked out of their windows and commented on the actions of the security forces. They shouted "Traitors to the workers!" "Devourers of taxes!" "We have worked for this country for 40 years and you are smashing everything!" Behind the police line, passers-by had again gathered and tried to talk to the security forces. These attempts were pushed aside with cynical remarks, such as: "We do not need you! Around 2400 we heard the sound of boots on the stairs. The bell was rung, there were knocks on the door, but we did not open, since no one ordered us to do so.... Suddenly someone kicked against the door and broke into the apartment. We were very shocked.... We were loaded onto a truck of the alert police.

—Now a truck came, and we were beaten onto it like animals. When we all were on the truck, a punk from Leipzig was beaten unconscious. He was unconscious

for several minutes. We all were taken to Dimitroffstrasse. There we had to stand with spread legs and arms against a wall in pouring rain. Now another punk was beaten because he said: "This is worse than among the Nazis." His head was pushed into a trash can and a policeman said: "Stay where you came from."

—The truck filled up slowly—always under abusive shouts and beatings with truncheons. After some time we arrived at a People's Police station; I think it was the station in Immanuelkirchstrasse. The truck drove backwards to the door, the door was opened, and we jumped off under the order "Get off, but at the double, you pigs." ...In the yard there were several policemen and some dogs, who received us, abused us and beat us. We had to lean against the wall with our hands. Every moment we received hits on the neck because one had to spread one's legs more or should stand farther away from the wall; I was about 120 centimeters from the wall. In this position it was impossible to stand for an extended period. Fingers and hands went dead and the muscles in the legs and arms started to tremble. The man beside me could not endure it, he collapsed slowly; for this he was kicked, but afterwards he was permitted to kneel and lean against the wall as an act of mercy ("So that you feel how humane we are"). I heard bestial screams by people who were beaten; I saw mocking, laughing policemen, policemen who shouted orders. "We will show you what democracy means," a policeman said and beat my neighbor to the left.

—We all were taken to the Immanuelkirchstrasse police station; there, behind the door, a whole group of People's Policemen were gathered, who beat up a young man with a broken arm when the man protested against the treatment and demanded a doctor. We had to form a line and hand in our identity cards. The tone was extremely rude and humiliating.... Any attempt to speak normally and reasonably with the policemen

was considered a provocation and answered with beatings. All people in this garage, without any exception, were treated like criminals, even though the arrested citizens were not violent and were even extremely quiet and disciplined.... I myself was released around 1220, that is, 14 hours after my arrest. Previously, a plainclothes officer had apologized for the treatment and called on my understanding. I told him that I would naturally file a complaint. I am sure that I owe this apology only to the fact that I am Christa Wolf's daughter but not to my right as a GDR citizen to be treated decently by the organs of my state. This right seems to have been invalid on this day.

Boehme Meets 'New Forum' Representatives

LD3010215389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1952 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany politburo Central Committee and first secretary of the Halle area executive, and other secretaries of the area executive met today with representatives of the Halle initiative group "New Forum" and with a representative of an ecology group for an exchange of views.

The members of the initiative groups explained, as ADN was informed, their ideas on how the process of changes in society could further take place. Hans-Joachim Boehme said that it was the stated and irreversible intention of the party to bring about the change introduced by the ninth Central Committee session in joining together all forces in society with the aim that all citizens feel at home in the country.

During the talks quite a few common interests, but also controversial views emerged, it was said. All agreed on the necessity of continuing the process of dialogue that is directed at renovation.

USSR Officials Comment on Hungary, Warsaw Pact

Aboymov on Pact Commitment

LD3010200989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Hungary and Poland do not want to leave the Warsaw Pact, therefore it is not worth raising this issue even in theory. This was stated by Ivan Aboymov, Soviet deputy foreign minister. The leading diplomat, accompanied by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, took part in the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' meeting, and affirmed that both Budapest and Warsaw continue to adhere to alliance commitments.

At the same time, Aboymov avoided responding to the statement made by Yevgeniy Primakov in the United States. The chairman of the Soviet Parliament said, in fact, that Hungary's leaving the eastern military bloc is possible in principle. Aboymov explained the participation of the member states' foreign trade ministers at the consultation by saying that the Warsaw Pact must more and more change into a political military organization.

Officials on Pact Future

LD3010203889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The question of Hungary or Poland leaving the Warsaw Pact is not on the agenda, thus it is not worth pursuing this question even in theory. This is the opinion of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aboymov. He added that in any event it is the official standpoint of the governments concerned that is to be taken as authoritative.

Two high-ranking Soviet politicians spoke about the same subject in the United States: Nikolay Shishlin, CPSU spokesman, and Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of one of the chambers of the Soviet Parliament. Andras Heltai reports on the details.

[Heltai] In a television interview, Primakov rejected the possibility that the Soviet Union would use force to impede the GDR possibly leaving the Warsaw Pact. As an example, he referred to Moscow's policy, acknowledging the changes in Poland and Hungary. The other Soviet representative, Shishlin, to the question of whether Soviet interests would be threatened by Hungary's neutrality, declared they are not afraid of the changes, and they will in any event respect Hungarian decisions. Anyway, the Soviet politicians added hurriedly, their information is that Hungary does not intend to leave the Warsaw Pact.

Nation's Trade Balance With USSR Addressed

LD3110095889 Budapest MTI in English
0740 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 31, 1989 (MTI-ECONews)—Hungarian-Soviet trade this year was worth a total of 8.7 billion roubles. The Hungarian

surplus amounted to about 600 million roubles by the end of September. The reason is this: Despite the 12 percent decline in Hungarian exports against last year's figure, the Soviet partners would still have had to deliver goods to Hungary above the planned export quota, but the Soviets have refused to accept roubles in return payment, insisting on convertible-currency payment or barter deliveries. Therefore, some Hungarian deliveries have not gone ahead, either. Janos Ambrus, Hungarian commercial counsellor, said in an interview with the Soviet trade union daily, TRUD.

Mr Ambrus pointed out that raw materials and energy account for 85 per cent of all USSR export deliveries to Hungary, but good-quality finished products would also sell well here. However, the Soviet manufacturers of the Lada, a car very much in demand in Hungary, have not yet signed an inter-company contract for 8,000 Ladas, which would fit in with the quota planned under the interstate agreement.

Commenting on Mr Ambrus' remarks, Mr I Panteleyev, head of the Department of European Affairs at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economy, said the world market prices of energy delivered to Hungary have dropped, and this means the value of the same amount of Soviet export goods has also decreased.

To reduce the Soviet deficit, Mr Panteleyev proposed greater Soviet participation in construction and building repair work in Hungary. He also suggested that loans borrowed by Hungary earlier, which are not due to be repaid before 1990, be accounted now in return for Soviet debts.

Deputy Trade Minister Interviewed on CEMA

PM2710142089 Paris LIBERATION
in French 17 Oct 89 p 34

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Tibor Melega by Francois Came—date and place not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: Hungary has a trade surplus within CEMA. But that is not benefiting it much...

Tibor Melega: That is the whole problem: CEMA is no longer satisfactory in the current situation. The system was designed in 1949. Its structure and the funding of trade were then in keeping with national economic mechanisms: The participating countries all had a centralized economy. The organization of trade reflected the philosophy of planning in real terms. Currency and value scarcely had any importance. At that time, currency and prices only played a technical role in managing accounts. Everything could be focused on exchange. We used a method which was called clearing. A specific number of incandescent lamps were exchanged for a specific number of Lada cars. At the end of the year, the difference between imports and exports was settled in nonconvertible currency or, to be more precise, in "convertible rubles."

LIBERATION: Which carry no weight...

Tibor Melega: Let us say that the "convertible ruble" is not a ruble and is not convertible.... But the system worked for a time. It worked because of the centralized system. The trade agreements between countries were included in the plan each year. Exports and imports were planned, like everything else, as "input" and "output." This system works as long as the range of products is limited and as long as there are only a few dozen at most. And it works as long as the private sector does not upset the established order.

However, this method of managing the economy rapidly became obsolete. Back in 1953, we began to ask questions. But it was then politically impossible to express them clearly. In 1968 Hungary for the first time introduced market elements into its economy; the other countries rapidly did likewise. The inconsistency between the system and its real development then constantly increased.

LIBERATION: Has the system now broken down?

Tibor Melega: It is defective. You asked me what benefit we derive from having a surplus. For the first 6 months of the year, we have a surplus equivalent to \$300 million with the East European countries as a whole. But it is in convertible rubles which do not benefit us at all.

The result of the system is that at present everybody benefits from having a deficit within CEMA. Allow me to explain. We have a surplus compared with the USSR, but we do not benefit from it; we have a growing account in convertible rubles. And that is all.

If the Soviets want to settle their debts, that is fine. For instance, they would agree to pay us with machines. But our enterprises do not want this equipment which they regard as rather inefficient. They could also send us 1,000 Lada cars or more oil: We need them. But they say that they cannot supply us with those. The USSR cannot pay its bill. And Hungary is therefore giving it credit.

This is how the CEMA system now works: All those who manage to have a deficit automatically obtain credit from their partners. This means that everybody stands to gain from having a deficit.

LIBERATION: What do you want?

Tibor Melega: An end to this system which leads directly to a downward spiral. If everybody wants to import more and export less, trade among East European countries will ultimately head toward zero. To end this system, we need a reform of the payment system. Payments must be made in sound money, in currency. This will make countries eager to be competitive in the international sphere. It will then be in the USSR's interests to sell us more Lada cars and more oil...

LIBERATION: Not all the CEMA countries agree with this line...

Tibor Melega: Of course not. The dividing line is easy to see. The countries which have made most progress in reforming their economies stand to gain most from reshaping CEMA. The others—countries like the GDR, Romania, and Bulgaria—are still close to a planned economy. They are debtors within the group of East European countries. They therefore stand to gain from the survival of the old mechanisms. Discussions are under way. But the problem must be solved. And if we cannot move forward together, we will have to settle things by bilateral agreements among the countries which have gone furthest along the path of reforms.

LIBERATION: That would in fact lead to the division of CEMA into modernist nations and stagnant nations.

Tibor Melega: (silence—LIBERATION editor's note)...

Medgyessy on CEMA Market Integration

*LD2810195289 Budapest MTI in English
1829 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Text] Moscow, October 28 (MTI) - Uniform market, customs union, free-trade zones—these are the demands raised more and more frequently in the CMEA and outlining the prospects of a really operative integration for the member states, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, Hungary's permanent representative in the CMEA, told the Moscow correspondent of MTI. These demands can only be fulfilled on the basis of realities, through several stages that cannot be skipped, he added.

Mr Medgyessy, who attended the Moscow session of the CMEA Executive Committee, stressed that the real value relations and real prices should first be created on national level. The customs barriers can only be dismantled and a customs union established after that. The CMEA member countries have at best declared their intention to create a market. Hungary does not strive for strengthening the existing integration since it cannot function without market bases. Hungary advocates an integration that is based on genuine markets, Mr Medgyessy said.

Hungary strives for putting cooperation between the member states on the basis of the world market. It urges to eliminate the quotas, establish direct links between companies, discontinue plan coordination, and switch over to convertible accounting based on the current world market prices.

Further Reportage on Pozsgay Visit to Canada

Pozsgay on Economy, Politics

*LD3010232989 Budapest MTI in English
2110 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, currently in Canada, has been holding talks with politicians and representatives of business life and the Hungarian community of Toronto.

In his lectures delivered at a scientific conference called "Hungary and the West" Mr Pozsgay explained the correlation between economic reform and political transformation. He spoke of the major stations on the road to creating a democratic constitutional state, and the key laws passed in this field, as well as the amendment to the Constitution, which, as he said, had established the social basis for a market economy through the reform of ownership forms.

Meets With Finance Minister

LD3110095989 Budapest MTI in English
0945 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Montreal, October 31 (MTI)—State Minister Imre Pozsgay left for Montreal on Tuesday. He is scheduled to meet leaders of the local Hungarian community and visit the church of the Hungarian Catholic congregation, as well as McGill University attended by Hungarian medical students. Between the two programmes, the state minister is to meet correspondents from TV and radio stations and daily newspapers.

Monday evening Imre Pozsgay conferred in Toronto with Canadian Finance Minister Michael Wilson who mainly inquired about the course of economic reforms. Mr Pozsgay spoke about the series of legal regulations taken since last autumn to encourage business ventures. He mentioned the budgetary reform, the correction of the tax system, the wage reform and the employment policy changes among the tasks to be accomplished.

The state minister raised the idea for the Canadian Administration to support investments in Hungary by treating production equipment donated to Hungarian ventures as foundation-like investments deductible from the tax base.

Nemeth Interviewed on GDR, Europe, Reforms

AU2410160489 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL
in German 23 Oct 89 pp 182-190

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth by Bernd Doerler and Siegfried Kogelfranz in Budapest: "The Genie Has Come Out of the Bottle"; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, Hungary is obviously not only renewing itself. In the end, it was the opening of your borders for GDR refugees which has led to the change in East Berlin and to the ousting of Erich Honecker. Are you proud of this?

Nemeth: We have never let ourselves be guided by the intention to put things in motion in another country. We took this step out of purely humanitarian considerations. Of course, I would not be honest if I did not admit that naturally we also considered the potential consequences. We realized that our decision might certainly play a role in the development of reforms in other countries, too.

However, such influence is exerted not only by us; it also comes, for instance, from the Soviet Union or from Poland.

DER SPIEGEL: The opening of your borders touched a particularly sensitive nerve in the GDR. At that time, in September, were there any attempts at intimidation by the GDR—apart from the bitter verbal criticism from East Berlin—to make Hungary close its borders again?

Nemeth: There were no attempts to exert economic pressure, for instance. Of course, the GDR demanded consultations, in which it tried to convince us of its point of view.

DER SPIEGEL: At the diplomatic level or from party to party?

Nemeth: Both. However, at that time we had already abolished the party state in Hungary to a great extent and, therefore, we made it clear to our friends in the GDR that this question lies solely within the authority of the government, which made the decision alone and was responsible for it alone.

DER SPIEGEL: Did you have differences between the party and the government?

Nemeth: There were no direct controversies. Of course, leading men in the party also advocated opposing views. I can tell you that the then and current party chairman Rezso Nyers was not one of them.

DER SPIEGEL: Did Hungary consult or inform the Soviet Union before making the decision to open its borders to the refugees?

Nemeth: I can only confirm that there were no prior consultations with Moscow. Those times are over once and for all, and the present Soviet leadership no longer makes any demands of this nature. Of course, we informed them after the event, as this is usual among alliance partners.

DER SPIEGEL: Moscow never tried to influence you concerning this question?

Nemeth: No.

DER SPIEGEL: The GDR did not try to make the Soviet Union interfere, either?

Nemeth: Not that I know of.

DER SPIEGEL: If the reform process in eastern central Europe, which Hungary at least helped to start, were to lead to some form of German-German unity in the remote future, would Hungary be unhappy about this?

Nemeth: There is certainly a long way to go before then. However, in a Europe where armaments are reduced, where people can move freely, where economies are increasingly integrated, where ideas are exchanged freely, and borders lose their meaning—in a Europe of

this type, the German question can certainly also be solved, but first this development must be safeguarded in the long-term.

DER SPIEGEL: And until then...

Nemeth: ...the situation has to be stabilized. I believe your Chancellor Kohl said that his government is not interested in luring as many GDR citizens as possible to the FRG, but rather in having reforms carried out in the GDR so that its citizens feel comfortable in the country in which they were born, stay there, and also consider the country as their homeland.

DER SPIEGEL: Most GDR refugees would have to stay home if Hungary were to close its borders again.

Nemeth: We made it clear with great emphasis to both governments that we consider all of this a matter of the two German states. However, we said equally clearly that we will not close the borders as long as the reasons for the stream of refugees continue to exist. I simply refuse to accept that the key to a gate is pressed into my hand but that the key to the solution of the problem does not lie in my sphere of competence. To use a term from soccer: If someone passes this ball to me, I will pass it back.

DER SPIEGEL: This is called defensive soccer, if you want to stay with this picture.

Nemeth: In soccer, too, one first has to take care of one's own defense and then one can take other measures.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think that a true change in the GDR, which relieves you of responsibility, is possible?

Nemeth: No one can be interested in having an explosion occur there with unpredictable consequences. Therefore, there must be a peaceful, organic development. This requires great restraint by all. Of course, I am pleased to see that developments in this direction have now begun in the GDR. The wheel of history can at most be stopped for a short while. To want to turn it back is hopeless, reforms in our societies are inevitable, this is my most profound conviction. It is only a question of time how and how fast it can be implemented. The genie is out of the bottle. It cannot be forced back in again.

DER SPIEGEL: One neighbor of Hungary is of a completely different view: Just recently Romania's Ceausescu categorically rejected any reforms. Do you feel threatened by this neighbor?

Nemeth: There are many threats in many different forms. I hope very much that the matter will stay at words and newspaper commentaries. So far, we know nothing about any troop movements, which would indicate an acute threat. Of course, a sick mind can think of many things, but I do think that there, too, sober reason will ultimately prevail.

DER SPIEGEL: After all, it is because of its reforms that Hungary is now flooded by tens of thousands of citizens from the allied fraternal countries GDR and Romania.

Nemeth: For this reason in particular we would welcome it so much if these countries would finally decide in favor of the unavoidable reforms. It must not be the same path everywhere. There is room for the most varied colors on the large European palette. However, things must not remain stuck at empty phrases.

DER SPIEGEL: Since, as you say, the genie is out of the bottle....

Nemeth: ...in Romania not yet, unfortunately!

DER SPIEGEL: The Hungarian Republic is looking for its place within Europe. Much is said about neutrality, for instance following the example of Austria or Finland. Do you consider such ideas feasible?

Nemeth: All people wants to live in their own way; over the past 15 months we have already covered a long distance in this direction. Over the next few weeks and months we will take decisive steps toward a parliamentary democracy, in which the Hungarian people can then freely decide on their future fate. But there are also stones on this path: the geopolitical location of Hungary, the relations between the superpowers, the existence of the military alliances. Nevertheless, the development is taking the right direction. In 10, 15, or perhaps 20 years we—I mean the world, Europe, and, within it, the Hungarians—will probably have reached the point where the people can decide much more independently on their fate than today. Then neutrality will also mean something totally different.

DER SPIEGEL: To which extent does a success of the Hungarian reforms depend on the success of Gorbachev's perestroika, which, after all, facilitated the change in Hungary?

Nemeth: It is beyond dispute that perestroika has facilitated this development in Hungary and other socialist countries, even though in particular our development has always had its own dynamism. God forbid that perestroika should come to a standstill or even fail—that would be a bad thing for all of us: for the Soviet Union itself, but also for America, for you, and, of course, for us. Therefore, we all should not put any stones in Gorbachev's path. This is our common historical responsibility....

DER SPIEGEL: ...which is not seen in this way by everyone.

Nemeth: This would be bad. Nevertheless, Hungary's reforms could not be reversed even if there were to be an undesirable and unfortunate change of course in Moscow.

DER SPIEGEL: You want to say: Hungary has crossed the Rubicon, no matter what may happen in Moscow?

Nemeth: Exactly. The reforms that have already been carried out have crossed the threshold at which something might have been turned back. If the economic problems in the Soviet Union continue to deepen and if no qualitative changes can be achieved in cooperation

within CEMA, we will not remain untouched, either. Because our national economies are linked too closely. With regard to democratization, pluralism, the rule of law, there is no way back anymore, under no circumstances. A guarantee for this is the change in the Constitution, which has just been decided.

DER SPIEGEL: There are still 50,000 Soviet soldiers stationed in Hungary. Do you not feel that your freedom of decision is restricted by them? When should the troops be withdrawn, in your view?

Nemeth: I do not feel that my freedom of decision is at all restricted. For a long time the Soviet soldiers have not been here to support a Hungarian Government or the system....

DER SPIEGEL: ...in fact, we did not so much think of supporting it, as threatening it.

Nemeth: Such a threat does not exist anymore. We are negotiating the continuation of the troop withdrawal that has already started. This certainly corresponds to the intention of the Soviet leadership. I would like to remind you of the speech by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze at the United Nations. There he said that no single country should have foreign troops on its territory by the year 2000. I do not know what the FRG thinks about this, but I know very well that the Netherlands, for instance, is unhappy about the presence of U.S. troops. In any case, from the Hungarian point of view there are neither political, military, nor any other reasons for the further presence of Soviet troops. However, if one looks at the European context, we do not have as much influence on their presence as we would like.

DER SPIEGEL: You consider the Hungarian process of democratization to be irreversible. However, during the current days in particular, one sometimes gets the impression that some things have started to lurch about in the country. At the party congress, the most eager reformers, including yourself, had already had to make too many fishy compromises with the stone-faces.

Nemeth: I cannot and do not want to refute this assessment. In any case, we had to realize that in politics and society one makes progress only rarely, and only very rarely can one maintain one's position without compromises. The compromises that were concluded at the party congress went too far, in my opinion. However, I accepted them, because I am looking forward. That the compromises were not too fishy in the end is shown by the fact that we now have a reformist, relatively homogeneous party Presidium, which mostly consists of young people. Furthermore, my government is firmly determined to immediately dissolve the workers' militia, the party's armed army, without any legal successor.

DER SPIEGEL: But there is already strong resistance against this within your party.

Nemeth: I have never seen a party in which there is no resistance. Even the most liberal parties have conservative forces and fundamentalists. One has to live with that.

DER SPIEGEL: What is to happen with the party's property?

Nemeth: We are willing to give an accountability report to society. We really are firmly determined—and this is not only an empty phrase—to keep only as much of our party property as we absolutely need for our political work. The party wants to forego everything else. Over the next few months we will present another four or five good ideas—so that the Hungarian people believe us when we say that this Socialist Party has really broken with the bolshevik system; that this party has renounced democratic centralism; that this party is willing to be judged in truly democratic elections.

DER SPIEGEL: The Hungarian people do not seem to really believe you—200,000 citizens have signed a document expressing their distrust of the socialists. Many believe that the your party's change of name only means a change in the company banner. At the grassroots level of the party, there is mounting criticism of the man who is considered the ramrod of the reforms, at least in the West—State Minister Imre Pozsgay. He has met with competition from the ranks of his own party in his candidacy for the presidency. Is he still too reformist for the grassroots level?

Nemeth: I do not think so. There are certainly personal ambitions among individual party members. But I do not know of a candidate running against Pozsgay from within the party.

DER SPIEGEL: The Patriotic People's Front, which has never been more than an appendix of the party, wants to send its own candidate against Pozsgay.

Nemeth: Perhaps in the past the People's Front was such a thing, but not today. And what would happen if there were to be another candidate. The voters should not think that only one single person is suited for this office. The rules of democracy have to be accepted by everyone—also by me and Imre Pozsgay.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you understand the displeasure of your many party colleagues about the fact that over the past few weeks Pozsgay has been too ready for compromise regarding the conflicts within the party, that he puckered his lips, but did not whistle?

Nemeth: One cannot always whistle loudly. But I ask you to take into consideration the fact that this was the first party congress of a movement, which is just now consolidating into a political party in the European sense. Everything we think of in terms of reform could not be carried out all at once at this party congress. Still, I would like to claim that the lips were not only puckered, one could also hear a whistle. Perhaps it was still a bit low, but believe me: It will become much stronger soon.

DER SPIEGEL: Nevertheless, it could be that in free elections your party will not get enough votes to continue its government. Can Premier Nemeth imagine that Hungary will elect a government next year in which the Socialists will not be represented, and in which the president will perhaps be an opposition member?

Nemeth: I do not want to rule out this possibility, because then I would not believe in democracy. But you will understand that I do not expect an election defeat. We will do everything so that this party will achieve good results and that we will remain a force capable of being in a coalition. But if the people decide that I should not continue my work, then I am also willing to pass on the baton.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think about the fact that the dismissed stone-faces want to reestablish the Communist Party, which you abolished?

Nemeth: I am not only happy about it, I consider it explicitly desirable that a Communist Party should again be organized in as classical a form as possible in Hungary. This also helps our Socialist Party to find its identity.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you do without some members of your party?

Nemeth: There will certainly be people whom we want to and have to get rid of. But we will do this in a civilized way, in a European way, not in the form of a witch-hunt. Because such methods only give rise to brutality and violence in return.

DER SPIEGEL: And you would call for the same humane treatment for yourself, if the others were to regain the upper hand?

Nemeth: This is one of the reasons why we want to act as humanely as possible.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, thank you for this interview.

Nemeth on Situation in Hungary, Future Prospects

AU2710183589 Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Oct 89 p 3

[Hans Ulrich Kempfski report: "The Chief Passes the Test of Fire"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, October—There is always movement around him, speed, dynamism, because Miklos Nemeth is needed everywhere. Just now he has checked the disarmament of the workers militias. Now he wants to chase the U.S. ambassador across the tennis court. Afterwards, he has to examine the plans for a reform of property. And now, quickly in between, he is willing to talk to the reporter from Munich. [passage omitted]

Nemeth considers it particularly important to explain in an unusually expansive way that he, as a former communist, need not reproach himself in any way: "When I became a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers

Party in 1966, the party gave reason for great hopes; it was worth dedicating oneself to it at that time." This phase of our talk is concluded by Nemeth with a statement, which sounds impatient: "I have nothing to regret." [passage omitted]

Is Nemeth fascinated by power? It almost seems as if Nemeth had waited for such a question. He opens his desk drawer and takes out a hand-written letter, which he hands to government interpreter Peter Mate and asks him to translate the text into German. The letter was written by Andras Nemeth, the premier's 68-year-old father, whose congratulations to his son are linked with the advice that as head of government he should use power with moderation and only for the benefit of the people. At the end of this letter of 25 November 1988, there is the following admonition: "Be loyal to the death." When the interpreter quotes this phrase, the premier interrupts him and says: "I serve power, but I do not enjoy it."

He is said to have a sixth sense for politics. It is certainly sure that he has learned the elementary lesson of politics: Politics is not the art to stick with one's principles, but to do the right thing at the right moment. Thus, as the liquidator of the communist party power, he has pushed through—almost in a surprise attack—all those laws, which do not exist in this form anywhere in the East Bloc: freedom of travel, speech, and assembly, Western-style multiparty system, preparation of free elections, no criminal persecution for political reasons, and a constitution that is modified in the spirit of people's rule. Nemeth believes that he has not overstrained himself at all with this. Nemeth thinks that Hungary's democratization is not reversible—not even if a change were to occur in Moscow. [passage omitted]

It is still uncertain what will happen to the new Socialist Party, which, after the self-dissolution of the Communist Party, is canvassing for members without knowing how many of the formerly 700,000 comrades will now join the socialists. Knowledgeable estimates expect 150,000 at the most. Lean years are to be expected. Premier Nemeth has announced that he will soon hand over the property of the dissolved state party—real estate worth 10 billion forint—to a trustee. "The party," Nemeth said in the interview, "must become credible. The lack of credibility is our biggest problem." [passage omitted]

He himself is convinced of his mission. He talks about this with a trusting frankness which has a fascinating effect, in particular when Nemeth points out how dangerous it sometimes is for him to reveal his thoughts too trustingly and too frankly, thoughts which should better be kept secret. And he cites another of his weaknesses: "I blow up too easily. I cannot be tolerant of stupidity."

I look at the watch. We have now been together for more than an hour. My picture of Nemeth has been rounded: This man feels very comfortable in the center of power, he absolutely wants to remain head of government. And

Nemeth admits this frankly when I tell him about my impression. [passage omitted]

At the end he has some doubts, because he sees himself as a man who might be passed by time. "Perhaps I will be forgotten," he predicts somberly, but then he immediately adds that even in this case, he will get out of the matter honorably. Miklos Nemeth says, and he says it with a smile which does not reach his dark eyes: "When we go, we will go with our head up."

Further on National Assembly October Session

Session Resumes

LD3010111989 Budapest MTI in English
1045 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The October session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued Monday morning.

Under a decision passed at the session which was adjourned on October 20, MPs [members of parliament] are to discuss the bill on the State Audit Office, the bill on the amendment to the land act and the law on referendum, the date of the presidential election and the draft resolution on ordering a referendum, and the government's report on the works carried out in Hungary and abroad since the suspension of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project.

The government has also submitted for urgent discussion the bill on general amnesty.

Istvan Fodor, current president of the National Assembly as Matyas Szuros is the provisional president of the republic, announced that the agenda also includes 16 MP's interpellations, the discussion of several issues, and decision on personnel questions.

State Audit Office Law Debated

LD3010124189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1130 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Hungarian National Assembly reconvened at exactly 1000 this morning [0900 GMT]. What has happened in the short time that has elapsed since then? Andras Kerekes and Attila Miklos Nemeth report from the scene.

The debate on the creation of the State Audit Office has begun. The legislators are now listening to the second contributor, Lajos Bartha, deputy from County Heves. Previously, Bertalan Suedi, deputy from County Bacs-Kiskun, spoke. He said that after a break of more than 4 decades Parliament's controlling role could considerably increase through the creation of the audit office. This, however, must be done solely for the benefit of society; not like in the past when not every controlling organ was able to remain free of various influences. The offices, or individual personalities were given a special role. This caused incalculable moral damage, beyond the material damage.

He cited an instance when, for example, he enquired about the fate of the borrowed billions of dollars he was given, the brief reply was that he should take cognizance that it was not the government which consumed this enormous amount of money. [passage omitted]

The draft law on the State Audit Office was submitted by Sandor Puskas, chairman of the [National Assembly] Planning and Budget Committee. He emphasized that this organization would be the first to directly assist in the work of the National Assembly, and which was being created at a deputy's proposal. He underlined that there was a need for a group consisting of experts, with whose assistance the existing Parliament could do its work independently of parties and political trends. No longer would the deputies be at a loss when discussing the budgets and the closing accounts. The keynote speaker also said that in the past years, the closing accounts never reflected the government's optimism which still existed when the budgets were discussed. This, too, is why the functioning of an experts' group is necessary.

It is generally known that many people, by alluding to the lack of a budget law, oppose the creation of a State Audit Office. Others point out that as long as ownership rights are not legally regulated, there is no sense in having an audit office. In reply to them, Sandor Puskas said that state finances exist, even without a law, and its matters must be dealt with. The State Audit Office will also supervise the legality of the transformation of state-owned enterprises into companies.

According to the draft, the headquarters of the State Audit Office will be in Budapest, and its members probably will not be able to be deputies simultaneously. The State Audit Office will operate from 1 January 1990, and simultaneously, the system of people's control will cease to exist in Hungary.

So far, one recess has been held in Parliament's work today. During this, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] parliamentary group also met in session, where, according to our information, they decided not to support the proposal for separate referenda to be called on the issue of the president of the Republic and in that of the coat-of-arms. Naturally, this decision has not yet been made, but debate sprang up between the deputies of different affiliations when the committee to propose the members of the Constitutional Court was set up. From among the 11 deputies, 4 are members of the HSP, while only 2 deputies are independent. Yet there are presently more independent deputies in the National Assembly than those belonging to the HSP faction.

AFD Petition Considered

LD3010133389 Budapest MTI in English
1202 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The committee has not decided whether the MP's body and parliamentary plenum is entitled to alter the issues of the referendum

petition of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) signed by more than 200,000 Hungarian citizens.

During its meeting before the Parliament session Monday morning, Parliament's Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee decided to continue debate on the subject in the working breaks of the plenum.

It was stated at the committee's session that the government had withdrawn its proposal on ordering a referendum to decide on the date of the country's national day.

Court Committee Elected

*LD3010151289 Budapest MTI in English
1427 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The National Assembly has elected the nominating committee to prepare the election of the five members of the Constitutional Court.

The committee is headed by an independent MP [member of parliament], and its set-up is according to the political structure of Parliament. Four MPs represent the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Hungarian People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the group of independent MPs all have one delegate.

State Audit Office Bill Approved

*LD3010213989 Budapest MTI in English
2003 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The National Assembly has passed the bill on the State Audit Office with 289 votes in favour, 6 against, and 18 abstentions.
X X X

The State Audit Office is the National Assembly's authority for financial and economic control. It is designed to check the economic policy of the State Budget and the grounds for the State Budget proposal, the possibility of meeting revenue quotas and whether they are necessary, the loans taken out by the budget and their use, and the related debt-servicing. It also seeks to ensure that not a single item in the budget should be overdrawn or reclassified without the authorization of the National Assembly. The supervision also involves loan transactions between the National Bank of Hungary and the State Budget, the issue of banknotes, the utilization of the Social Security Fund, the financial management of parties and institutions with access to the budget, subsidies, and the activity of state-owned companies as regards preserving the value of, and increasing, property.

The president and deputy presidents of the State Audit Office will be appointed by the National Assembly for a 12-year term, and they can be re-elected until the age of 70. X X X

At the press briefing held after the bill on the State Audit Office had been passed, Sandor Puskas, president of parliament's Planning and Budget Committee, said the new law was bang up-to-date and met European requirements. It ensures the National Assembly can keep a tight rein on things, without overly interfering in the work of the government. True, the lack of a law on the State Budget and a guide on handling property will make the activity of the Audit Office more difficult for the time being.

Eva Balla, MP, voiced her disagreement with all this, as she thought the possibilities for genuine control were still not present. Therefore, the National Assembly should have passed a stopgap measure by setting up a trial version of the Audit Office and preserving the former control organizations as well.

Land Law Amendment Approved

*LD3010214189 Budapest MTI in English
2021 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The motion Mrs Ilona Vass, member of Parliament, put forward to the National Assembly was a further amendment to the amended land law which would ensure the protection of state-owned land and the temporary freezing of land turnover.

The debates the parliamentary committee have had since the tabling of the bill on the amendment in early autumn have finally led to a compromise solution: in January, 1990, the government will be submitting to the National Assembly a new bill on the protection of socially and community-owned land as well as on state and cooperative-owned land.

Parliament approved the solution with 287 yeas.

General Amnesty Approved

*LD3010213689 Budapest MTI in English
2030 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The National Assembly unanimously passed the bill on general amnesty proposed to mark the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary, with 287 votes in favour, 5 against, and 14 abstentions.

As pointed out by Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, in his verbal supplement to the bill, it is first of all humanitarian points that should be considered when granting an amnesty.

The general amnesty refers to those convicted of crimes committed out of carelessness and sentenced to no longer than a three-year prison term.

Where mothers with young children or prisoners past retirement age or the seriously ill are concerned, half the sentences longer than three years will be waived. The scope of general amnesty does not extend to repeated offenders or to people convicted of crimes involving various violent actions.

People convicted of crimes against the state, except for espionage, will escape the disadvantages related to the punishment or a criminal record. This also refers to individuals sentenced for illegally crossing the border, refusal to return, and for dodging the rules relating to travelling or staying abroad.

The number of people the general amnesty affects is estimated at 6,600

Law on Referenda Amended

*LD3010232589 Budapest MTI in English
2049 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—Following the verbal supplement by Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, the bill on referenda and popular initiative and its extension was passed by unanimous vote: 302 votes in favour, 1 against, and 2 abstentions.

Mr Kulcsar said the modification of the law passed in the spring had become necessary as the impending referendum may involve a decision not merely between two versions, but three or even more. Thus, the demand for an absolute majority before a decision can be valid may seem unjustified.

The government therefore recommends that a simple majority be sufficient in these cases.

No Decision Made on Referendum

*LD3010231989 Budapest MTI in English
2053 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—A stormy debate has been raging over calling a referendum, something the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) has been asking for, and MP's [Member of Parliament] have put forward numerous motions of modification. This meant that the first working day of the October session of the National Assembly drew to an end without any decision on the question. The motions will be examined by the legal, administrative and jurisdictional committee after the first day's session. The National Assembly is to resume the debate on the agenda on Tuesday [31 October].

The SZDSZ is calling for a referendum on four issues, and the required number of signatures to call a referendum have already been verified. Even before the authenticity of the signatures had been examined, the National Assembly had already taken a positive decision on three questions: that party organizations should pull out of places of employment, that the workers militia should be disbanded without a legal successor, and the approval of the report by the minister of finance on the assets of social organizations. The fourth, and still open, question is whether the president of the Republic should be elected before the parliamentary elections.

The MPs' motions refer to the wording and order of the questions on which the referendum will be held, as well as to the fact that voters should be accurately briefed on

the legal consequences of the decision. Consequently, they should be informed that they can reinforce the laws already passed, but cannot renounce them, and that if the elections for the president of the Republic are postponed to after the parliamentary elections, then, under the recently amended Constitution, the president will be elected by Parliament, while this task would fall to a referendum if the elections were to take place before the formation of the new Parliament.

Election of President Discussed

*LD3110100389 Budapest MTI in English
0947 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 31 (MTI)—The October session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued with the discussion of interpellations in Budapest Tuesday morning.

The adopted agenda had to be changed because the Planning and Budget Committee and the Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee could not finish discussion of the proposed amendments until the start of the plenum at 9 am.

Later in the day MPs are first to decide on whether to order a referendum on private citizen's initiative or on the government's initiative, and whether Parliament would order the election of the president of the Republic directly by citizens. Depending on the decisions passed, Parliament will then turn to discuss the possible dates of the referendum and the presidential election.

The greatest interest on the second working day is expected to follow the report on the consequences of suspending work at Nagymaros, to be elaborated by Government Commissioner Laszlo Udvari.

Signatures Supporting Referendum Authenticated

*LD2710195889 Budapest MTI in English
1619 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—Altogether 114,470 of the 204,152 signatures collected by the activists of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) in support for a referendum on the presidential elections have been authenticated. Andras Kery, head of the state office for population registration, told an MTI correspondent. The number of identified petitioners has now surpassed the limit stipulated by law. The related report was sent to the national electoral board, which forwarded it to the speaker of Parliament with its approval.

Mr Kery said that 37,000 signatures were not authenticated because the personal identification number was missing or unidentifiable. In 25,000 cases, the legible signature was not accompanied by the name. 5,000 petitioners had no voting rights, while 2,500 signed the sheets more than once. In 7,000 cases, the registered address did not coincide and in 4,000 cases only the locality was named. In other cases there was no signature or address.

Mr Kery said that, on the request of the National Electoral Board, the sheets would be deposited with a lawyer for three months so that they could later be controlled and the data protected.

2d Alliance of Free Democrats Assembly Opens

Greets Soviet Ambassador

LD2810052689 Budapest MTI in English
2211 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—The second general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) opened in Budapest on Friday [27 October],—attended by 600 delegates representing the approximately 6,000 members of the party.

In his opening speech, Gyorgy Konrad, member of the SZDSZ council, emphasized that the alliance would like a Hungary free of fear, where the rights of the citizens and communities are fully respected. The SZDSZ wishes for a homeland in which there are liberal rules applies when measuring the performance of economy, politics and culture.

Subsequently, representatives of Hungarian and foreign parties—including the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, both of the FRG, the Green Party represented in the Bundestag, the FDP [Free Democratic Party] of West Berlin and the Dutch '66' party, greeted the general assembly. A warm welcome was given to the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Leader Rejects Coalition

LD2810151689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0545 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The 3-day meeting of delegates of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] opened yesterday evening. Zoltan Farkas has spoken to one of the organization's leaders, Ivan Peto:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Peto] We are believers in a coalition, this is the essence, and I think that we are capable of coalition too, while adhering to our principles.

[Farkas] In one thing, however, the SZDSZ has been unrelenting for a year or year and a half. This is that it is not willing to form a government coalition, with either the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] or its successor parties. This is quite different from coalition at talks.

[Peto] Yes, this is clearly so. The SZDSZ is really, if not unrelenting, then resolute in this. Many people misunderstand this or explain it incorrectly. They try to show the SZDSZ as an anticommunist party, but this does not correspond to reality. The SZDSZ has always said that it is not willing, naturally, to form a coalition and is not willing to cooperate with a state party. Now, the MSZMP

has been restructured, and its name has become the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], and really it seems that it is able to leave much of the state party characteristics behind. After the elections it will be definitely able to cast off unequivocally its state party status, but even so we will not form a coalition with them, and I will try to briefly explain why. It is our opinion that the start of the new era must be unequivocal for everybody. If the party which has been in power up to now, or its successor, remained in the power (?set up) as a coalition partner in the government, this break, this change would not be unequivocal. The other reason, which is of similar importance, is that we think that independently of the MSZMP's results at the elections, its power position will be much stronger because of the continuation of its hitherto power possibilities, than would be indicated as the results of the elections. This would be rather similar to the 1945-47 coalition period.

[Farkas] Does this mean that the MSZMP's successor parties must be squeezed out so that these parties really go to their proper places—I must use the plural, for heaven only knows how many successor parties there will be.

[Peto] No, I would like to make this quite clear. It has the right to exist, and we would consider it intolerable if somebody were to say that the MSZP, or the MSZMP successor parties must be squeezed out. We think that in governing, it must be, if not squeezed out.. [Peto changes thought] but a coalition of the present opposition would be more successful in our opinion, so the present MSZP should operate as an opposition party, for the aforementioned reasons. I would quickly add to this that the reasons why certain people would like the MSZP to be in the power set up, are foreign political reasons and this too greatly resembles the 1945-47 coalition, that it is not the internal support which justifies the activity of one party in the government, but external reasons. And we think that the opposition, today's opposition, can formulate guarantees and can keep itself to these, which would reassure the external factors, and can unequivocally guarantee to Hungary's present alliance partners that there will not be a break here which would be alarming.

[Farkas] In your opinion, will they announce the presidential elections? What will be the result of the signature collecting?

[peto] Well, I can give you not only my own personal opinion, for the news which could be heard here and there so far has now been given publicity. It is that they wish to combine the presidential elections and a referendum. I find this absurd. Perhaps it is very practical from some kind of economic consideration, but I consider it absurd. Presumably they will do this, for Parliament has shown itself to be rather unfavorable in this matter. I consider the matter completely absurd. To mention just one detail, if somebody says he would like a president of the Republic after the elections, but they put in front of him a paper asking who he would like as

president of the Republic now, then obviously a significant part of the people will think that perhaps the person I want will not come out the winner, and fill out this one in a way which is contrary to his other opinion. There will be enormous confusion from this, apart from the fact that I think the whole thing cannot be combined logically either. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Trianon Borders Revision Rejected

*LD2810182289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Correspondent Andras Domany report from meeting of Alliance of Free Democrats delegates]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Nominations for the leading bodies are taking place now at the delegates' meeting of the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD]. An important event took place not long ago. With great applause, the meeting unequivocally disassociated itself from one of the contributions, in which one of the delegates demanded a revision of the Trianon borders. This was one voice, one isolated voice, but for all that it must be mentioned, and especially that they unequivocally disassociated themselves from it. This disassociation was supported by the letter of greeting from Mikos Duray, a renowned combatant of the Magyar nationality in Czechoslovakia, which was read out. Then Helena Nemcova, representative of the Czechoslovak Charter-77 opposition movement, greeted the general assembly. She said that now, while participants in the demonstration in Prague on the 71st anniversary of the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic probably are going through rather difficult moments, she can take part in the general assembly of an opposition organization with this kind of free atmosphere.

My impression of the AFD general assembly is that the organization feels very well and is very self-confident. It feels that it has been verified by everything, that it was worthwhile not to sign the agreement of the trilateral political coordinating talks, that it was worthwhile to launch the collection of signatures. They are of the view that all the measures that have taken place in the past weeks—the government proposal to disband the workers' guard, the party's withdrawal from the workplaces, and a number of other things, for example—are the consequence of their having taken a resolute, consistent stand. They add that this kind of radicalism is not extremism in the sense that they might have used any kind of force or taken people into the streets. They merely want to advance radically, resolutely, and consistently within the constitutional framework, and this is how it will be in the future if, as they envisage things, the presidential election is not held. At least they hope that in the course of the referendum, which will be set with all certainty, the population will be in agreement with the original idea of the Free Democrats, that is, they do not wish directly to elect a president of Republic before the National Assembly elections.

It is an interesting shift in emphasis that they wish to cooperate with the government. They offer their support to the government in the course of implementing certain unavoidable measures of economic necessity because until the parliamentary elections are held, this government must, as they said, function, and the Free Democrats do not wish for chaos. What Gyorgy Konrad said, as a personal idea and not as a corporate stance, was that in his view, later on, after the elections, the Free Democrats might be able to conceive of a government coalition with the Federation of Young Democrats, the Smallholders' Party, the Social Democrats, and perhaps the Greens. This contains what was said several times, that by no means would this happen with the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Another interesting new idea is that they do not suspect the armed forces of any kind of attempt at violent confrontation, but they propose nonetheless that the professional officers of the army and the police take an oath to the new constitution of the Republic which is based on multiparty democracy; elsewhere they proposed that this also should be requested of judges and (?lawyers). [passage omitted]

Assembly Reviewed

*LD2910105389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Listen, now, to our correspondents' summary of today's events at the general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] Miklos Martin-Kovacs and Jozsef Orosz report.

[Correspondent] There are seven points which, in the hopes of the Free Democrats, have shaken our world; at least, this is what was pointed out by Janos Kis, who spoke on behalf of caretaker leaders and gave the political report. The Hungarian Government must declare that it is the transition period's ministerial body which manages the crisis, and it is not the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Government [as heard]. AFD urges the government work out a crisis-managing program, one which the AFD would support. AFD proposes that the trilateral coordinating talks be suspended. In place of this, the government should hold separate discussions with both the parties and representatives of the interested groups. At the same time, the Opposition Roundtable must resume its activity as urgently as possible. According to AFD this also means, naturally, that the unity, which had disintegrated, must be restored.

On behalf of the Alliance's caretakers, Janos Kis reaffirmed that the referendum they proposed must be held on every issue. They urge that the date of [National Assembly] deputy elections be determined as soon as possible. AFD demands that a government organ make provisions regarding the fate of state property; it emphasizes the most effective means to countervail abuses is openness. They propose the staff of officers of all the

Hungarian armed corps take an oath on the Republic's Constitution. [passage omitted]

Not long ago, the delegates at the consultation made proposals for the composition of the leading bodies; the elections are expected tomorrow. Now, the draft basic statutes are being discussed.

The AFD was not officially invited to the MSZMP Congress a few weeks ago but a representative of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] and one from FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] were invited here. Andras Domany questioned them.

[Begin recording] [Domany] Yesterday evening Istvan Hegedus greeted the AFD delegates' meeting, on behalf of FIDESZ, and applause greeted the statement that FIDESZ is independent, it is independent even vis-a-vis the AFD.

[Hegedus] In some concrete political issues we have reacted, and then conducted ourselves, in the entirely same way; for example, in the matter of the trilateral agreements. Yet, this does not mean that, for example owing to generational differences and owing to different styles of politicizing, we might not be very different. It is true that many of us were very strongly influenced by the previous actions of the democratic opposition and by the principles they have been proclaiming for a long time. At this delegates' meeting, my feeling is that the caretakers of the AFD have prepared very seriously prepared for this 2-day consultation. What Miklos Gaspar Tamas and Janos Kis said are concrete and precise ideas for the coming several months, for the final phase of the transition period, which could constitute a very serious basis of negotiations for our organization and for all of the organizations of the Opposition Roundtable. To underline just one thing, they as well have proposed that the Opposition Roundtable resume its work. They have also offered to government that inasmuch as it takes the measures of economic necessity, which are unavoidable, AFD will step beyond its own party interests, and alongside certain conditions it is willing to support these.

[Domany] Would FIDESZ, for example, also support this?

[Hegedus] Of course.

[Domany] Was anything concrete mentioned here with which you do not agree?

[Hegedus] I could not cite anything here, immediately. Perhaps we did not praise ourselves so much, but perhaps I am being very malicious to point this out...

[Domany, interrupting] Excuse me, but if I can also be malicious, it is not certain that the television viewers or radio listeners of FIDESZ felt the same way.

[Hegedus] That is possible, but we really did not underline who worked how much, who did how much for the organization. Perhaps we took this much more as a matter of course.

[Domay] Bela Fabry, member of the HSP Presidium, is attending the AFD delegates' meeting as a guest. I have just torn him away from a conversation with Janos Kis which, in tone, was very friendly, albeit argumentative. With what feelings are you listening to this general assembly, where rather sharp words are being voiced against the HSP and against the political leadership of the past years?

[Fabry] My impression is that sober political analyses are being mingled with the pomp of flowers of rhetoric. This is turning the meeting into an expanded political show. Moreover, at its current general assembly, the AFD is reinforcing its sense of having a mission; it is presenting itself as if it had the exclusive license to resolve the country's problems, as if at present, it were proved that the majority of society supported them.

[Domany] Of course, this is logical inasmuch as, properly speaking, we are at the beginning of an election campaign. So, everyone advertises himself a bit, the HSP included.

[Fabry] That is so, and it is natural. However, it disturbs me a bit that they are concentrating on getting the better of the (?repute) of the old system, and not on transcending the crisis, with the cooperation of the country's democratic forces. In the final analysis, it is basically this position, this negotiating position, which we take as our point of departure. I heard with pleasure, however, that an opportunity is opening for a continuation of the talks, to settle the open questions. We are ready for this, but I would have some difficulty in imagining our beginning the talks without a compromise in the issues to be debated, and with AFD wishing to unilaterally set the conditions.

[Domany] It has been said here that the AFD would like to squeeze the HSP out of power, but not out of the political arena.

[Fabry] That is the AFD's intention, but it is the people who should decide on this. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Another important episode in the general assembly is that the AFD representatives are asking the UN secretary general to use his organization's and his own utmost influence in the interest of Laszlo Tokes, vicar from Timisoara. In response to a letter sent to the meeting by the Magyar minority in Czechoslovakia Miklos Duray emphasized that there is a need for a rallying of forces by the neighboring countries, for a safeguarding of the minorities' interests, and for the prevention of all kinds of political forces' actions. The AFD meeting continues.

More on Assembly

LD2910112989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Here in Hungary, most attention was focused on the delegates' meeting of the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] which has been going on for the 2d day.

AFD's election strategy and an amendment of the basic statutes were discussed there. Today's work is summed up by Miklos Martin-Kovacs and Peter Marvanyi.

[Correspondent] I believe that one of the day's political sensations was the motion of Gyorgy Konrad, that the Free Democrats, in the interest of performing successfully in the elections, and on the basis of a similarity in the organizations' endeavors and principles, should enter into coalition with FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the Independent Smallholders' Party, and the Social Democratic Party, as well as possibly with the Greens inasmuch the Green Party enters the elections.

Miklos Gaspar Tamas, candidate for [National Assembly] deputy, said that he hopes that the time will come when the state is a simple office which serves the citizens. Regarding the current government, he indicated that AFD does not wish to bring about its fall. Until the free elections, the cabinet must remain in office, he said.

This idea was reaffirmed by Janos Kis, in one of the seven points in which he gave a situation-assessment and proposals from the AFD viewpoint. Zoltan Farkas held a conversation with Janos Kis.

[Begin recording] [Farkas] Earlier, AFD demanded the current government resign, and hand its place over to a new, so-called caretaker government that would come into being primarily out of experts. In contrast to this, Janos Kis surprised the audience by expressly offering cooperation to the current government.

[Kis] When at first in April, and then in September, we proposed that the current government should resign and that a government of experts should be formed, we did this because we were of the view that in the country's very serious economic situation, the government was not able to take the necessary measures, because it was a captive of the political struggles in which the ruling party was entangled.

[Farkas] Yet the economic situation has only deteriorated since then.

[Kis] The economic situation has only deteriorated since then. Yet at the same time the political situation has become so uncertain. In the meantime significant steps, of course, have been taken toward the free elections. We are of the view that if the government were to resign at this moment, this would have unforeseeable consequences. The Free Democrats wish for there to be a peaceful transition, a calm, orderly transition.

[Farkas] I suspect this is only one reason. The other reason is that the previous government, which you would have liked to resign, was the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] government. This is either the Hungarian Socialist Party's [government] or not even that.

[Kis] This really has no decisive role in our idea. Miklos Nemeth at present is a member of the HSP Presidium. Obviously, the country's economic crisis is continuing to go on; in this situation a crisis-handling program is

necessary. We would like for government to submit such a program. We undertake a commitment that insofar as this program is suited to accomplishing the tasks related to economic stabilization, we will not attack it. This is also important because such a program has obvious social and political consequences, and a government can become able to endure these consequences only if it is sufficiently strong politically.

[Farkas] The AFD has mooted that the officers' staff pledge an oath to the new Constitution, to the new Constitution of the Republic. Why would this be necessary?

[Kis] We believe that society would be reassured if this were to take place. We are not particularly suspicious of the officers' staff of the Hungarian Army. We do not suppose that there might be putschist intentions in the background here. If the officers' pledges an oath to the Constitution of the Republic, this will be a clear and public demonstration that the armed forces—and we are thinking not only of the army but of the police, too—have accepted multi-party democracy as the country's new state form. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Two of AFD's proposals have been mentioned. Now let us list the other ones. In their view, it is necessary to fulfill in entirety the demand for a referendum, which the organization has proposed and has been confirmed with 200,000 signatures. Free parliamentary elections must be called as soon as possible. If the referendum decides there should not yet be elections for the president of Republic, there will still not be a constitutional law problem. Until the parliamentary elections, the provisional president of republic can fill this function.

Instead of the trilateral talks, government should conduct discussions with the individual parties and with the interest-representation organs, but with each separately. The Opposition Roundtable must revive its activity, having learned the lessons of its crisis. AFD would like for the new press law to come about as soon as possible. I note that this week Imre Pozsgay said he hopes that the draft will go before Parliament in December. From among the foreign guests, the words of Bela Kiraly, commander of the 1956 National Guard, and Helena Nemcova, representatives of the Czechoslovak Charter movement, received most applause.

In the late afternoon, the draft basic statutes were discussed in a deep-reaching manner. Most of the modifications are necessary because the basic statutes adopted last year sorted out the affairs of a small organization. The delegates adopted an interesting modification: henceforth the AFD will permit dual membership only if in this matter a separate agreement comes about with another political organization. All this is in the spirit of what Miklos Gaspar Tamas said: AFD wants a prospering, esteemed Hungary. [passage omitted]

Managing Body Elected*LD2910203789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Peter Marvanyi and Miklos Martin-Kovacs report from the general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], on the events of the closing day:

[Correspondent] The new, 30-member national council of the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the 15-member managing body [ucgyvivoei testuelet] have been elected. As you will see from the names, the party's innermost directing body carries, in the persons, the legacy of the democratic opposition. Thus, the names: Gabor Demszky, Miklos Haraszti, Janos Kis, Ferenc Koeszeg, Balint Magyar, Imre Mecs, Ivan Petoe, Laszlo Rajk—who by the way ended up in hospital with heart-beat disturbances at the beginning of the 2nd day—and another three names, Miklos Szabo, Miklos Gaspar Tamas, and Peter Toelgyessy, who by the way, received most votes in both the national council and the managing body.

It was an extremely unusual scene in Hungarian public life, when Istvan Eoersi announced, before the election, that he did not wish to be on the managing body, because he represented the party's extreme left-wing. He called on Miklos Gaspar Tamas, who represented the other extreme, to withdraw; he, however, could not—as he put it—meet this request. The delegates' meeting decided on the seven points which were submitted by the out-going members of the managing body yesterday, and which have been outlined at length, on the stabilization of the political situation and on the path leading to free elections. The document was adopted, as was the SZDSZ standpoint drawn up on the fate of state property, and the proposal which urges that a law be enacted as soon as possible on the police, and that a parliamentary committee be established to control state security activity. By the way, state security work must be separated from the police, SZDSZ believes.

In his speech to close the debate, Janos Kis stated, to the expression of great approval, that SZDSZ wants to squeeze the communists out of power, and not out of the political arena. He took a stand in favor of the broadest possible opposition coalition, and as he said, in spite of the arguments, they wish for there to be a sincere, good relationship with MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] too. He welcomed the similar intention of the Smallholders' Party, which was conveyed at the meeting by (Jenoe Freizinger), who represented them. Closely connected to this is our following interview, which was made by Andras Domany:

[Begin recording] [Domany] At the delegates' meeting of the Free Democrats, Gyorgy Konrad said yesterday, by the way emphatically as a personal opinion, that he would be able to imagine a coalition type of cooperation between SZDSZ, FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the Smallholders' Party and the Social Democrats. I am interested in your opinion on this—here is Imre Boross,

member of the Political Committee of the Smallholders' Party, party attorney [partfoeuegyesz].

[Boross] In my personal opinion, there are many kindred elements in the two parties' programs, for this reason, I consider cooperation during the elections, especially in the second round, to be an interesting idea. As regards a coalition after the elections, I shall not make a statement of principle on this. This will depend on the development of power relations at the time, thus, in the final analysis, on the free elections of the Hungarian people. However, my saying that there exist kindred elements between the two parties' programs means something.

[Domany] At the telephone, now, is Vilmos Heissler, member of the national party leadership of the Social Democratic Party [SZDP].

[Heissler] I consider it to be an interesting and constructive idea. For a long time I, myself, have been urging the creation of a SZDSZ-FIDESZ-SZDP formation. With the smallholders, inasmuch they approach the liberal sphere of thought, this formation could gain very much strength—in my opinion it could constitute the basis of a very strong opposition or even a possible government coalition. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The delegates' meeting did not accept the proposal which urged a government of experts. As Janos Kis said, a departure of the current cabinet would entail unforeseeable consequences, and this is not wished.

The general assembly also drew up a telegram and a statement of solidarity. The addressee of the telegram is Laszlo Toekes, vicar in Timisoara, who, to use the words of Miklos Gaspar Tamas, for the first time in a long time is fighting openly for the nationality-rights of the Magyars in Transylvania. In the solidarity statement, the Free Democrats express their sympathy with the more than 10,000 people of Prague, whose demonstration yesterday was broken up with force by the police.

The representative of the Phralipe democratic gipsy association, Agnes Daroci, who proposed close cooperation, was welcomed with sustained applause.

At an afternoon press briefing, it was said that according to SZDSZ it is necessary to hold talks with the possible coalition partners on depoliticizing the direction of mass information. [passage omitted] The general assembly of the Free Democrats ended a few minutes ago with the closing speech of Istvan Eoersi.

New Rules Approved*LD2910203889 Budapest MTI in English
1911 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (MTI)—On Sunday, the closing day of the general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the delegates approved the new rules, which declare that the alliance is an independent political party, a party of freedom and solidarity, which rallies the democratic members of Hungarian

society who oppose all forms of national, political and social oppression. The rules stipulate that SZDSZ will take part in the parliamentary and local elections, and in policy-making on both national and local levels.

Outlining the electoral conception of the Free Democrats, Peter Tolgyessy stressed that the country could be led out of the crisis only by a government subordinated to a freely elected Parliament. For this reason, he argued, the parliamentary elections should be held early next spring. Mr Tolgyessy reconfirmed that the alliance opposed the plan to elect the president of the Republic yet before the parliamentary elections since it was not a single person whom it expected to improve the situation of the country.

Mr Tolgyessy emphasized that, in principle, the SZDSZ might form a coalition with all democratic forces but it would be too early to pass a concrete decision. The organizations of the opposition roundtable should work out an electoral strategy that regards the HSP as their greatest opponent, he said. Mr Tolgyessy went on to propose that in the second round of the elections the opposition organizations should support the opposition candidate who won the most votes in the first round.

Mr Tolgyessy said that the SZDSZ would be able to establish a strong parliamentary group after the free elections. It remains to be seen, he said, whether the alliance will take part in the government or remain in opposition. Mr Tolgyessy stressed the conviction that Hungary could be led out of the crisis only by a coalition of democratic opposition parties. The SZDSZ would be willing to play a role in a government like that, he said.

Speaking about the economic policy conception of the Free Democrats, Tamas Bauer, member of the SZDSZ council, termed it as a false interpretation that the economic ideas of the SZDSZ were motivated by Thatcher's economic policy. Mr Bauer pointed out that the alliance advocated free market competition in the case of commercial goods rather than in the fields of public services, education and health.

Further contributions discussed the alliance's policy towards the national minorities and the churches, and its conception of environmental protection. It was emphasized that the SZDSZ advocated the full separation of the state and the churches.

Economist Marton Tardos said that an economic reform could only be implemented through an ownership reform, putting an end to the predominance of state property.

The 2nd general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) came to an end in Budapest on Sunday with a closing address by writer Istvan Eorsi. The delegates approved resolutions on the stabilization of the political situation, on the road leading to free elections, on the future of state property, and on the settlement of the situation of the police, and a resolution in support for the government's decision to stop the construction of the Nagymaros dam forever.

The delegates elected a 30-member council and eleven executives: Gabor Demszky, Miklos Haraszti, Janos Kis, Ferenc Koszeg, Balint Magyar, Imre Mecs, Ivan Peto, Laszlo Rajk, Miklos Szabo, Miklos Tamas Gaspar and Peter Tolgyessy.

Michnik Interviews Shevardnadze on Perestroika

AU3010150889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 27-29 Oct 89 pp 4,5

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, by Adam Michnik, editor in chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA: "Why Has Our Relationship to Other Nations Changed?—Because Our Relationship to Our Own People Has Changed" place and date not given]

[Text] [Michnik] Tengiz Abuladze told me that it was only thanks to your support that he was able to make his film "Penance." At that time you were first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist party. Can you tell us more about it?

[Shevardnadze] Quite simply, we were and still are friends. When I saw the film I knew that it had been made by a man who had understood the tragedy of the 1930's. Work was proceeding on the film, but we all realized that the film might never be shown. However, I believed that we could not refuse to make this film. This tragic period of our history had to be recorded for posterity. We all believed that there might come a time when this film would become necessary; necessary in the sense that the subject matter with which it was concerned, should never again be repeated. Knowing that we would not receive any financing from Moscow, we financed it through the union of Georgian filmmakers, and other social organizations. When we saw the first version, we realized two things; one, that the film was masterfully done, and two, it was doubtful whether it could ever be distributed. Later came perestroika, and Tengiz remembered his film. All my friends saw it, politicians and artists alike. Mikhail Gorbachev also saw it. Everyone was of the opinion that the film was absolutely necessary. It was not only a great work of art but a document of our tragic history.

[Michnik] Is there a specifically Georgian view of Stalin and his legacy?

[Shevardnadze] Stalin cannot be blamed for everything. It is not just a question of individuals, but the means of disinformation and aberrations that were current at the time. All the peoples of the Soviet Union suffered equally as a result of this. Leningrad, and our capital city Moscow suffered. At that time Nikita Khrushchev was first secretary there. I recall full well what was happening in Georgia at that time. My father was a teacher. I remember the arrest of the leader and other members of the kolkhoz for alleged participation in a conspiracy. What conspiracies? It was a tragedy for the whole nation. Not only the leaders of the intelligentsia and party cadres suffered, the ordinary people suffered as well. My father had been warned by the Peoples Commissariat of Internal Affairs officials that he was in danger of being arrested. It was exactly at the time of the famous 1938 All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee

Plenum. The repressions did not stop, but they abated slightly, and many people were set free from prisons and labor camps.

The same things that were happening in the other republics—the good and the bad—were also happening in Georgia. During the war years, Georgia lost as many of its people as did the Ukraine—that is to say, proportionately as many. It lost 260,000 of its population out of 3 million. Georgia did not enjoy any privileges during Stalin's time. On the contrary, Stalin tried to make Georgia a showcase and example of his politics. Were the Georgians proud of him? Did they try to defend him? After the 20th Congress, there were demonstrations in Georgia protesting against attempts at unmasking Stalin. These were mainly manifestations by the young people, and on a very dramatic scale. Firearms were used, and there were deaths. This was the price that Georgia paid during the years of the Stalin cult.

[Michnik] You are considered one of the architects of the new Soviet foreign policy. I would like to ask you about the links between the internal and international policies. If one can cite the Brezhnev doctrine as reflecting the times of stagnation, then "perestroika" is characterized by the "new thinking" in international relations. You talked about this recently at a session of the Supreme Soviet. You categorically condemned the intervention in Afghanistan. Are you willing to do the same in relation to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to clarify one point here. I do not like the term "architect of the new policy." Foreign policy is always a continuation of domestic policy. Why has our relationship to other nations changed? Simply because our relationship to our own people has changed. Why has our relationship to international legal conventions changed? Simply because we began to adapt different norms for our own peoples and citizens.

I would not say that during Brezhnev's time there was any terrible despotism. One could work. Some things succeeded and some did not. I for example, chose to work. The people who assumed the lead in the perestroika—among others, Gorbachev—did not find absolute emptiness. Even during Brezhnev's times we knew quite well what our aims were.

We have told the whole truth about Afghanistan. I must say, however, that the people who made the decision about intervening with armed force did not plan to stay in Afghanistan for any length of time, or to create the 16th or the 17th Soviet republic. They were driven, as was the case of past generations, by the concept of revolutionary solidarity and internationalism. There was real threat of foreign intervention in Afghanistan, and even at the present time there are people who are intervening in Afghanistan. I know this from first hand sources. This was probably the cause for the decision to intervene in force—we intervene with our armed forces to help, and later, Afghanistan can decide for itself.

I think that this was an incorrect, and badly thought out decision, the total situation was not evaluated thoroughly. We have corrected that mistake. We took the difficult decision of pulling out the Army from Afghanistan. The vast majority of society backed us on this, but there were also others who thought differently. I think that we acted correctly. Now Afghans are trying to solve their own problems. Czechoslovakia is a different matter. The decision to intervene with armed force was taken jointly. I consider myself among those politicians who treat joint decisions very seriously. The decision in 1968 was made by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states, namely the then first secretaries, and the chairmen of the defense councils. There were also appeals from Czechoslovakia itself. The evaluation of those days from today's standpoint can only be changed by a joint decision. It is a very complex, delicate, and difficult issue.

The comparison with the intervention of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan is not applicable. It happened in different historical conditions, and further, only we were involved in making the decision to intervene in Afghanistan. We were the sole authors and the sole party implementing this decision.

Czechoslovakia is quite different. I think that it is inadmissible to allow anyone else to try and impose his own point of view of those events. I fully support the evaluation reached by the leadership of the communist party and government of Czechoslovakia, and consider it binding. Any other position would be a gross mistake. We have once and for all refuted the policy of imposing one's own opinion on others. It is unacceptable if one considers the customs prevailing between civilized states. If we were to express some dissatisfaction with your new government, it would be impossible to reconcile with the prevailing norms of the current political climate. Czechoslovakia is a sovereign state and has an undisputable right to evaluate its own history as it wishes.

[Michnik] One of my Russian friends referring to Czechoslovakia has said: "In the U.S. Army in Vietnam there were also Australian units, namely, a whole battalion." I think that regarding joint decision making during Brezhnev's time, things today would be somewhat different. I was in Czechoslovakia and talked with various people, including Dubcek. He asked me a rhetorical question: "What the Soviet comrades are doing today is far more radical than what we were doing in 1968. But why cannot this be said openly?" Here in Poland and in Hungary, the parliaments have stated that the invasion was a mistake, and we regret it very much. I think that many people in Czechoslovakia are waiting to hear this said publicly by the leaders of the Soviet Union. The Czechs and Slovaks are saying that at present in the Soviet Union it is a time of hope, while in Czechoslovakia it is a time of stagnation.

[Shevardnadze] The past appraisals by the Czech party leaders do not differ in any respect from the appraisal of the present leaders. We respect this position. If I should declare in Moscow that owing to the changes that have

taken place in Poland—new people in the Sejm and government—I was not prepared to go to Warsaw because the Polish premier is not a communist, then such an attitude would not be compatible with the elementary norms of current political culture. We do not want to be seen acting in this way. Czechoslovakia is a sovereign state, in which there are party and state structures which decide on the politics of the state. We respect their views, just as we respect the choice that the Polish nation has made. We may not totally like the fact that the communists are no longer at the Polish helm, but we respect the will of the Polish people. All things that undermine the sovereign rights of the party, the state, and the government, are exclusively the internal matter of the particular country, and you should not criticize this approach, but on the contrary, you should support it.

[Michnik] But it is evident that we do.

[Shevardnadze] Let us leave the subject of Czechoslovakia, and perhaps pass on to Polish-Soviet affairs.

[Michnik] You have said that the Soviet Union finds the Polish experience very interesting. What do you mean by it? Is it the political changes and the great compromise between forces which only yesterday were still antagonists, or the economic changes?

[Shevardnadze] I do not know whether I have said anything on this so directly. I think I spoke about economic cooperation, and also, if I remember correctly, economic cooperation with the West. We support our Polish friends developing their economic contacts with the West. Your experiences of cooperation with the West will, after all, be useful to us too.

[Michnik] Oh, you mean in this sense....

[Shevardnadze] Let us not talk about who is in government in your country and who is in government in ours. In my opinion, we have a common problem—the problem of consolidation; consolidation of all forces, and I would even say—of all alternative forces—in order to solve the problems which are fundamental. If Poland wants to emerge unscathed from its complicated situation—and you know better than I do just how difficult your situation really is—then there must be a consolidation of the whole nation. A consolidation of all parties, movements, and all religions. I consider that you have made great progress in this direction.

But we have different conditions, experiences, and different characteristics. We have a multi-nation state, and each republic has its specific problems. We have national, ecological, and economic problems. The consolidation of the whole society, all nations in the interests of perestroika and democratization is our number one problem. In these spheres I see the possibilities for an exchange of views, and if you want, experiences. People's fronts, unofficial organizations—not all in accordance with the Constitution or party regulations—are springing up. But these are all living structures, and if

we wish to build a democratic state where the rule of law is observed—and we want to achieve this—then we must unite.

[Michnik] In this context what do you make of the return to the political stage of yesterday's dissidents, for example, Academician Sakharov? You referred to him in your UN speech. How is the process of reconciliation with yesterday's dissidents proceeding?

[Shevardnadze] The most spectacular example is our democracy. We do not fear people who hold opposing views. On the contrary, we respect those people who put forward their views with honesty. This, of course, does not apply to demagogues. Such people are dangerous to the Soviet Union as well as for Poland. I define demagogues as people who seek cheap popularity. Those people who are sincerely convinced of the existence of alternative solutions and defend their views, deserve unlimited respect. In the Supreme Soviet there are many deputies who stick to their views, and do not agree with others—this is also an illustration of democracy. But democracy is subject to the law. There is a majority, and there is a minority, and it is the majority that decides.

[Michnik] A key problem of Soviet policy today is the creation of a common European home. How will this Central and Eastern European home look in future? For that matter, how will it look in the Soviet Union itself? Ordinary people and even the leaderships believe that the structure formed during the Stalinist period is now obsolete. Many of your Supreme Soviet deputies openly speak of the need for a confederation. Even communists, for example, in the Baltic republics, have also been calling for this. Where is all this leading to in the Soviet Union, and in Central and Eastern Europe?

[Shevardnadze] This common home is not an unusual structure which has to be built on ruins. We are already building this structure, when we engage ourselves in trying to solve the problem of disarmament, and seek for ways which would eliminate the possibility of armed confrontation between East and West Europe. This is also an important element of this common home. More confidence and less fear. More contacts and elements of integration, for example, economic contact. As a recent example we proposed the elaboration of joint legal regulations at the Paris Conference. This is a new initiative. This is a concept that should be acceptable to socialist states and bourgeois-democracies. We are intensifying relations with the European Community, and with the Council of Europe. These too are elements of this new common home. We are developing economic relations. We are considering the All-European ecological project. Of course we shall remain ourselves. They believe that socialism will disappear, but this is impossible.

[Michnik] Just between us then, do you know what socialism really is?

[Shevardnadze] Do you know what capitalism is?

[Michnik] I do not know either.

[Shevardnadze] Socialism, as I conceive it, is an ideal society.

[Michnik] My last question. When do you think the time will come when I shall be able to read in PRAVDA an article entitled: "The whole truth about Katyn"?

[Shevardnadze] I answered this question sometime before. I think that, first, there already is a commission, and, second, one should not hinder it in its workings. We are interested in the truth and nothing but the truth. You know full well that we have brought out a lot of things and even more into the open in the Soviet Union. We are not lacking courage, if an atrocity was perpetrated then we shall have to own up to it. There can be no other way. But the matter has to be investigated very thoroughly and competently, it has to be based on scientific premises. Facts are needed, that is all.

Balcerowicz Holds Talks With Soviet Economists

*LD2710212489 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Report By Moscow correspondent Jerzy Wajszczuk]

[Text] Simultaneously with the CEMA debates, Polish-Soviet consultations are being held which are connected with preparations for Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to the Soviet Union. In this connection, Leszek Balcerowicz met with the leading Soviet economic activists. The talks concerned mutual trade, the conditions for payment of interest, the repayment of dollar and ruble credits granted to Poland by the Soviet Union, mechanisms of economic relations in the future, as well as problems related to compensation for Polish citizens for deportations and the costs of stationing of the Soviet troops in Poland.

Jaruzelski Sends Greetings to GDR'S Krenz

*LD3010144989 Warsaw PAP in English
0106 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to Egon Krenz in connection with his election to the post of chairman of the GDR council of state.

Szczecin Residents Apply for GDR Resettlement

*LD2910101189 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Text] In the GDR consulate in Szczecin 30 people have applied for resettlement to our western neighbors. Before now those interested would have to receive consent from the GDR and Polish authorities as well as to fulfill certain formalities. The applicants who apply for resettlement forms are primarily interested in the possibilities of employment, work conditions and apartment availability.

Jaruzelski Cables Husak on CSSR Anniversary

*LD2710213789 Warsaw PAP in English
2006 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[text] Warsaw, Oct. 27: Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak in connection with that country's 71st anniversary of the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state, due on October 28.

Marking the same occasion, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki send a congratulatory cable to Premier Ladislav Adamec.

The cables stress similarity of historical experiences and roads of development which gave birth to lasting Polish-Czechoslovak friendship providing grounds for lively contacts and comprehensive cooperation in tune with the best understood interests of both states and nations.

In their cables, the Polish leaders expressed wishes of further successes in creative work for the good of the nations of Czechoslovakia.

Bush Delivers Speech on U.S.-Polish Ties, Aid

*LD3110045589 Warsaw PAP in English
0131 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] Washington, Oct. 30—A ceremony concluding the month of Polish-American heritage was held today in the White House.

Before that, President Bush accompanied by his cabinet members received Polish Ambassador to Washington Jan Kinast and talked with him, stressing warm feelings towards Poland and U.S. readiness to extend assistance for Poland.

The President delivered a speech devoted to historical ties between the Polish and American nations. He also discussed the main directions of U.S. assistance for Poland, recalling that the U.S. has already earmarked 108 million dollars for emergency food aid and another 100 million for the development of the private sector of the economy.

Bush said this was a good beginning and emphasized that Poland needed, and will get, not only more aid from the West but also continuous support for the process of democratic transformations.

He announced that, following a request received from the Polish Government, he turned to the U.S. Congress asking for granting Poland 200 million dollars in non-repayable aid towards stabilization loan. He called on other Western states to promptly meet their obligations concerning participation in the stabilization loan of 1 billion dollars.

Furthermore, the President announced he was sending a special mission to Poland, composed of outstanding administration figures, financiers, businessmen, trade unionists and scholars.

The mission will have talks with Polish Government members on the development of the private economic sector in Poland, and on principles and ways of the best possible use of foreign assistance.

The mission will also make an overall appraisal of the economic situation in Poland. The President stressed that the Polish nation could count on a steady support from the United States in solving difficult economic, social and political problems.

Jaruzelski Meets U.S.-Polish Delegation 27 Oct

*LD2810055989 Warsaw PAP in English
2204 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today visiting delegation of the Polish American Congress with President Edward Moskal. Jaruzelski stressed the significance of the visit for bringing Poles at home and abroad closer together.

The participants in the meeting raised essential problems of a further development of Poland's cooperation with expatriate Poles, with particular regard to joint undertakings aimed at popularization of the Polish language, cultural and historical traditions, and development of economic links.

Italy's Craxi Arrives for Visit, Meets Officials

Holds Meeting With Cardinal Glemp

*AU2610140089 Rome ANSA in English
1222 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Text] (ANSA) Warsaw, October 26—Italian Socialist Party Secretary Bettino Craxi, on a visit to Warsaw at the invitation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Thursday described recent events in Poland as "extraordinary," underlining how important it was that "all the hopes and promises of the moment may come to fruition and be maintained."

Speaking after a discussion of around forty minutes with Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Craxi told ANSA it had been "an extremely interesting meeting," stressing "the important role the Primate has played in the events of the last few years."

"We spoke about the Poland of today," the socialist party leader said, "about what one hopes will be the Poland of tomorrow, and a little, also, about yesterday's Poland, about the dramatic events this country has gone through."

These events, "painful and difficult to overcome," Craxi said, have, nonetheless, brought Poland to "a new situation."

For his part, Glemp told ANSA that the two men had examined "issues of interest for Italy and Poland, economic questions regarding cooperation in the agricultural

sector, as well as the attitude of ordinary people to the new situation," describing the talks as "very interesting".

Also present during the discussion were Senator Gennaro Acquaviva, head of the Socialist Party Secretariat, and Margherita Boniver, head of the party's international department.

In the late morning, Craxi will be received by President Jaruzelski and will remain at luncheon with him. In the afternoon, he will have talks with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

On Friday, the Socialist Party secretary will meet employment minister Jacek Kuron, Foreign Trade Minister Marcin Swieicki, Communist Party Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski, as well as a number of leading Solidarity members of Parliament, including Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik, a long-standing friend.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD2710143889 Warsaw PAP in English
1406 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 26—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and former Prime Minister of Italy Bettino Craxi who is paying a visit to Poland at the invitation from the president.

This was the third meeting of the two politicians—the first one was held in Warsaw in 1985 while the second—in Rome in 1987.

Wojciech Jaruzelski assessed positively the development of Polish-Italian relations and described them as model.

Bettino Craxi declared he would act as an advocate of boosting cooperation with Poland on the part of both Italy and the Socialist International.

The talk passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and friendliness.

Talks With Mazowiecki, Walesa

LD2710143989 Warsaw PAP in English
1653 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received this afternoon Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party Bettino Craxi.

Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party Bettino Craxi met with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and chairman of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) Senator Jan Jozef Lipski today.

Craxi also held a brief press conference for Italian and Polish journalists.

Comments on Meeting With Rakowski

LD2710211989 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] At the meeting between Bettino Craxi and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the subjects of the conversation were the processes occurring in Poland, the development of the socio-political situation, the participation and the role of the Polish United Workers Party in the transformations and preparations for the 11th Party Congress. The politicians devoted much attention to shaping the new face of the European Left and to the possibilities of its activity while the transformations are taking place.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski handed Bettino Craxi a letter to the Presidium of the Socialist International.

[Begin recording] [Craxi in Italian fading into superimposed Polish translation] We have had a very constructive meeting, during which we made not only a review of relations between Italy and Poland, but also between East and West Europe. We talked about a vision of peace and about actions for peace and the consolidation of the atmosphere of trust between East and West Europe. I invited our friend, Mr Rakowski, to pay a visit to Italy.

[Reporter] We hear that you have handed Mr Craxi a letter to the Socialist International. Does it concern the meeting in Milan?

[Rakowski] It concerns the meeting in Milan but, of course, goes beyond this meeting. Namely, in this letter we have presented our interest, the interest of the Polish party, in cooperation with parties belonging to the Socialist International, cooperation which surpasses the traditional areas of cooperation. That is, so far, we have mainly concentrated on issues related to disarmament and, above all, European security. Now, we are proposing, or rather presenting, declaring our readiness to cooperate in all other areas of social and political life. To put it briefly, one could say that the letter proposes an opening for broad and much more extensive cooperation with these parties. [end recording]

'Pleased' With Talks in Warsaw

LD2710210889 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party Bettino Craxi, now on a visit to this country at the invitation from President Wojciech Jaruzelski, told a news conference here today that "contrary to what Nicolae Ceausescu was saying in Bucharest, the changes in Poland and her position were conducive to the East-West dialogue and the cause of peace."

Craxi said he was pleased with the talks he held in Warsaw and pointed to the importance of agreements signed recently in Rome by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. In this context, he said he hoped that the Italian Government would do its best to make their implementation produce best results.

Speaking about his talks with Lech Walesa, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, the leader of Italian Socialists said that they let him look with optimism at the situation in Poland but added that this optimism had to take into account the complex character of problems, economic in particular, facing Poland.

Craxi also voiced satisfaction at the talk he held with leader of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) Jan Jozef Lipski and said that the cooperation between Socialists from Western Europe and socialist parties and movements from other European countries would be discussed at a meeting of leaders of socialist parties to be held in Milan on November 2-3.

Craxi stressed that all his interlocutors were serious about preserving the "non-conflicting" character of the political situation. In the talks, all of them also attached much attention to economic issues.

Craxi said that four years ago he could not have imagined that the situation in Poland might develop the way it did and added that the latest developments on the Rome-Warsaw line showed that the Polish-Italian relations had entered a new stage.

Meets Rakowski, Geremek; Departs

*LD2710222789 Warsaw PAP in English
2001 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and Vice-President of the Socialist International Bettino Craxi ended today his two-day visit to Poland paid at the invitation from President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Today, the Italian visitor held numerous talks with Polish politicians.

The leading topic of the talks Craxi held with First Secretary of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski were processes going on in Poland. Rakowski conveyed to Craxi a letter to the Presidium of the Socialist International. They also discussed the prospects for cooperation between the two parties. The sides stated that there were possibilities for its further comprehensive expansion. Craxi invited Rakowski to pay a visit to Italy.

Asked about the contents of the letter, Rakowski said it referred to the coming meeting of socialist parties in Milan and that it also went beyond that subject. In the letter we showed the interest of the PUWP in cooperation with the parties of the Socialist International that would exceed the traditional areas of joint activity.

Till now, we focused on disarmament and European security. At present, we declare our readiness for cooperation in all fields of social and political life. So, the letter proposes an opening to broad cooperation with other parties, Rakowski said.

At the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP, Craxi met with Bronislaw Geremek (OKP leader), Senator Andrzej Wielowieyski and deputies Adam Michnik, Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Henryk Wujec. Craxi said that Italian Socialist supported the process of democratization and democratic groups in Poland and Eastern Europe.

Craxi was also received today by State Minister Jozef Czyrek.

In a talk with Labour Minister Jacek Kuron, Craxi showed interest in the social policy implemented by the Polish Government.

At a meeting with Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki, the sides focused on economic issues.

Also on Friday, Craxi met with Editor-in-chief of the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity weekly Adam Michnik.

Country Joins International European Movement

*LD2910220389 Warsaw PAP in English
2111 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[By PAP correspondent Edward Dylawski]

[Text] Geneva, Oct. 29—Sunday was the second and the last day of the "Our Europe" Geneva seminar organized by an International European Movement. Professor of Warsaw University Marian Dobrosielski and journalist Ryszard Wojna took part in the discussion on Poland's part.

Professor Marian Dobrosielski devoted his address to new non-military aspects of security in Europe. He pointed out that today it was not enough to base Europe's security only on military factors. It is necessary to decisively de-militarize East-West relations and to make them political.

Ryszard Wojna stressed the significance of universal human rights values as an indispensable foundation of the common European home.

When talking to the Geneva PAP correspondent, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz stressed the significance of the Geneva meeting, organized by the International European Movement, because socialist countries, including Polish delegation, for the first time joined in the movement that has existed for 40 years now.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Official Visits

*LD2710105789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Interview with unnamed Ministry of Foreign Affairs press spokesman by correspondent Adam Zubko on 26 October in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] [Zubko] Can you detail the schedule of foreign visits of representatives of our government and visits to Poland by dignitaries from other countries?

[Spokesman] The most important matter we are preparing for at the moment is Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to the Soviet Union which should start on 23 November.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has many other invitations. He has received invitations from the Belgian Government and the U.S. Government. The premier of Czechoslovakia would also like to meet with him. He has been invited to visit by the Strasbourg Parliament. I know that next in sequence are visits to Belgium and Strasbourg at the beginning of next year. That is all I can tell you about the visits of the premier.

Our minister of foreign affairs has many visits planned. In the near future, at the beginning of November, he is setting off for a trip to Austria. Later, he will be host Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of France, who will come in a double role as French minister of foreign affairs and EEC chairman of the Council of Ministers. After that, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski will visit Norway. Also in November, he will host the minister of foreign affairs of Denmark. That is all. I have only mentioned the most important visits. There will certainly be more.

There will also be visits of a slightly different nature, as, for example, visits which Lech Walesa will pay to Canada and the United States in November and which will certainly be of great importance for our relations with these countries.

Finance Ministry Announces Rise in Energy Prices

LD3010195589 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The Ministry of Finance announces that as of 1 November this year, official retail prices of electricity go up by 150 percent, gas fuels by 100 percent, and heating energy by 55 percent. [passage omitted]

Bug River Border Guard Units Disbanded 30 Oct

LD3010175689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Soldiers of the Bug River Border Guards [WOP] Division have, for the last time in the history of their unit, attended the roll call. The division has been disbanded in keeping with the WOP restructuring plan. The sector of the border which had so far been guarded by the Bug River WOP Brigade has been given over for the protection of the neighboring units.

Senate Meets, Debates Government Budget Bill

LD2610141489 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1220 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] The Senate has gathered today to determine its position on the government bill amending this year's budget act. The directions of changes in the act were

presented by (Marek Dabrowski), deputy finance minister. They are to lead to a reduction in the budget deficit, from Z4.9 billion in October to Z4.7 billion by the end of the year, through savings measures, that is, reductions in subsidies to coal, and the introduction of greater taxation discipline, as well as subscriptions to bond purchases.

Sejm Session Opens; To Discuss Budget Changes

LD3010130789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1208 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] A meeting of the Sejm began several minutes after 1100. First, the Sejm is examining draft changes to this year's budget, and a draft resolution connected with this, presented by the Commission for Economic Policy, Plan and Budget. Sejm Deputy Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska reported that the next Sejm meeting will take place on 16 and 17 November. She also announced that if the house does not manage to complete the agenda today, it will be continued tomorrow. Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz spoke about the draft changes in this year's budget.

Justice Minister Bentkowski Views Amnesty Law

LD3010141189 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 0955 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Interview with Poland's Minister of Justice Aleksander Bentkowski, by unidentified correspondent, at the Parliament building in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. We greet you from Parliament. We now begin our work on the Sejm meeting. There are still 5 minutes to go before it begins. The light came on in the debating chamber a moment ago. A small number of deputies have taken their seats. And so, as we have already informed you, parliamentary floor groups have been meeting since 0900 [0800 GMT] at Wiejska Street.

The parliamentary floor group of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] also met. At the microphone, Deputy Aleksander Bentkowski [minister of justice]. Are the topics of today's meeting known? Did the amendments to the budget law also dominate the discussion during the ZSL deputies' meeting?

[Bentkowski] I think that emotions on the budget law, [word indistinct] amendments to the budget law, have probably subsided. The deputies are convinced that the government must be trusted, to save it from ineffective discussion, and I assume that today, this discussion will be more modest than has been the case in previous days, when we discussed similar amendments on indexation.

[Correspondent] And other subjects discussed during the meeting?

[Bentkowski] We also discussed a law which I will present on changes in the law on the system of universal courts. We also widely discussed proposals for an amnesty. I would like to add again here that the Ministry

of Justice is not the initiator of the amnesty law, and we are not interested in this law. This law...the draft law came from the deputies. We, however, are forced to take a stance on it, because after all, this law (?in the form) that it has been submitted, must get through the Sejm.

[Correspondent] Precisely. Your opinion Sir, therefore, the opinion of the minister of justice?

[Bentkowski] Yes. Well, for a start, I think that the perpetrators of the most serious crimes, of course I am thinking of murders and other, similarly dangerous crimes, should not be covered by this amnesty law. Also, I think that not all [word indistinct] should be (?encompassed) by this law, and I put such a declaration forward during my first television appearance, when I appealed for calm in penal institutions. Now, in turn, at the meeting of the Justice Commission, I will make an appeal for the introduction of a regulation to this law, so that the amnesty law will not encompass those prisoners who started the disturbances after our television appeals for calm. If people cannot keep the peace despite requests and appeals, then they do not deserve to have the amnesty law applied to them.

Religious Affairs Office Abolishment Proposed

LD3010212389 Warsaw PAP in English
2042 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The government has forwarded to the Sejm draft amendments to the law on changes in the organization of supreme and central state administration bodies, postulating that the office for religious affairs be liquidated and religious affairs be conveyed to the office of the Council of Ministers.

There is no minister for religious affairs in the present cabinet which comes as a result of normalization of relations between the state and the church and regulation of the legal status of the Catholic Church and other churches, the government's explanation says.

The liquidation of a separate office for religious affairs will help simplify the structure of state administration bodies while an organizational cell for religious affairs headed by the general director would be formed within the Council of Ministers' office, it is stressed.

Polish Television Inaugurates Catholic Programs

LD2710165489 Warsaw PAP in English
2107 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—"With great joy and great hope I welcome a TV programme which will be a programme of faith, a programme of the church and believers," Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp said in an inaugural Catholic programme on Polish TV on Thursday [26 October].

Editor-in-Chief of the Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY Jerzy Turowicz who also appeared in

the inaugurating programme expressed satisfaction over the church being given a possibility to use the powerful mass medium of TV.

The Catholic programmes will be aired on Thursdays, and starting from October 31 TV will broadcast on Tuesdays evening prayers from the Jasna Gora Shrine in Czestochowa and then also from other sanctuaries. Children will have their own programme on Wednesday morning.

Christian-National Union Formed, Chairman Elected

LD2810195189 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] The founding congress of the Christian-National Union [Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko-Narodowe] has taken place at the Small Hall of Warsaw Polytechnic. Three hundred people, representing various Christian-national milieux from across the whole of Poland, participated. The platform and status of the new front was passed, and the Supreme Council, Main Board, and Court of the Union were chosen. Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski was chosen as chairman of the Main Board.

New Socio-Religious Weekly Appears

LD2610141789 Warsaw PAP in English
1327 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Rzeszow, Oct. 26—The first issue of SAN, a new socio-religious weekly, appeared here. Its scope will cover Krosno, Przemyśl, Rzeszow and Tarnobrzeg Voivodships.

SAN is a continuator of journals published by Solidarnosc in the underground.

PAP Reports on Walesa News Conference 19 Oct

LD2010005189 Warsaw PAP in English
2242 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 19—Lech Walesa met Polish and foreign newsmen at his weekly press conference at the Solidarity seat here today.

"So far it has been a honeymoon for the government," Walesa said. "Today one cannot say anything against the government as we do not have much choice. When we finally put political pluralism into effect, when we ensure freedom of action to political parties and competitive programs, then it may happen that I will criticise the government. Therefore, I do not attack now but ask for promptly creating possibilities for various programs, maybe even better than the government one," he said.

Asked about principles underlying his contacts with Western businessmen, Walesa stated: "I do not sign anything with them. I am only a matchmaker. I encourage them to start cooperation with Poland and direct them to a right address—to the government, ministers, enterprises. This is where my part ends."

"I do not agree with prospects of inevitable unemployment in Poland. How is it possible if there is such a shortage of labour force. Goods, services are in short supply. Unemployment occurs where there is overproduction. And in Poland one will long have to produce, build, set up workshops, small businesses, shops," Walesa continued.

Numerous questions concerned Walesa's expected trip to the United States. "I am going there as a slightly finished politician, as a slightly stronger economist and as a strong unionist," Walesa answered.

He rejected "Finlandization" as a model of future relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. "There are different conditions and different possibilities though not long ago this model was very attractive for us. Now we want 'Polonization,' our own system which may take the best from the Finnish one and supplement it with our own solutions," he remarked.

Asked to comment on recent developments in the GDR, Walesa gave a short answer: "The new times are coming."

Jaruzelski at Army Commanders' Training Briefing

LD2710210289 Warsaw PAP in English
1846 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—High brass commanders of the Polish Army held a training briefing with the participation of Poland's president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski here today. The meeting summed up the training and educational work in 1989.

Gen Jaruzelski outlined the basic directions of Army's activity in the service for the nation and state next year taking into account the current requirements of the defensive doctrine, restructuring of the Armed Forces and humanising soldier's life.

The briefing was chaired by Minister of National Defence Gen Florian Siwicki.

Miodowicz Outlines Views to Party Members

AU2710191489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 25 Oct 89 p 7

[Report by Magdalena Biskup: "OPZZ Chairman Replies to Ochota Secretaries"]

[Text] "For some time now, we National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] trade unionists have disagreed with the party leadership, with the Central Committee, which in our opinion has been avoiding genuinely important issues. Above all, it has sought to avoid defining the party's position with respect to the government." That is how Alfred Miodowicz, the OPZZ chairman, opened his meeting with secretaries of factory and local party organizations in the Ochota district of Warsaw.

The meeting with the chairman of the "party" trade unions (80 percent of the members are also members of the Polish United Workers Party) was part of the program organized by the Ochota party organization for the presentation of the views of various left-wing movements, which are now—in the lead-up to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] congress—engaged in heated discussion with one another. One of these movements is the Working People's Movement, which is currently in the process of being formed.

What is the movement to be like? Why did the OPZZ reject that proposal that it should participate in the congress commissions. These were just some of the questions that were addressed to Alfred Miodowicz by representatives of Ochota plants.

A. Miodowicz said: "We are in opposition with respect to the present government, in strong opposition. However, we need a strong political infrastructure. We will not abandon the party, but we realize that if PZPR membership cards lose their validity following the January congress, then many members will not return for new ones. So we intend to establish the Working People's Movement, a left-wing movement, but organized outside the workplace."

As for the OPZZ's decision not to participate in the work of the congress commissions, the chairman explained that the reason for this was that it was advised, as if nothing had changed, that trade unionists delegate representatives to work on the commissions. Alfred Miodowicz added: "We gave our colleagues a chance to run as candidates and participate in the work of the commissions. We have 11 of our people on them."

More questions were asked: questions about the model of socialism that the OPZZ would identify with most closely, attitudes toward parliamentary democracy, and contacts with other political groupings. The OPZZ chairman explained that his union supported the idea of talks with social democrats, Mr Sila-Nowicki's grouping, and even with such radical movements as "Freedom and Peace."

The latter suggestion aroused considerable apprehension among the audience.

Alfred Miodowicz's rejoinder was: "That is not to say that we agree with everyone, but I think that, for example, they are in many ways right on alternatives to military service. There has to be a common sense approach to the issue, and you should not have to tell a college graduate to spend 3 years washing dishes."

The chairman continued: "What would be the best model of socialism for the unions? There is no question of there being a specific model; what matters is that working people should do well."

"As for national assets, they should not be sold off under any pretext. We will fight such plans. We are also opposed to looting cooperative assets."

"And what about parliamentary democracy? It is a wonderful thing—you can bring down any government with the help of some demagoguery, and we have had proof of that. On the other hand, I do not much like the present parliament. The country is standing on the verge of economic catastrophe and parliament is discussing a crown for the eagle and shades of red. I also do not like the fact that members of parliament are simultaneously members of the government, and we never had so many deputy ministers in the past...."

The OPZZ chairman was then asked whether the OPZZ considered "Solidarity" to be a partner, a competitor, or an enemy and what the OPZZ thought about "Solidarity" calls for a review on ownership of union assets.

The OPZZ chairman replied: "We consider 'Solidarity' to be both a competitor and a partner at the same time. However, as a union it only counts in the workplace. Structures above the factory level are already political organizations and essentially the OPZZ has no contact with them. We will not give up any of our union assets; we did not take those assets from 'Solidarity.'"

Finally, at the end of the meeting, which lasted over 2 hours, someone said: "My, you are quite a demagogue!"

Alfred Miodowicz replied: "That is true. I am a demagogue, and that is the best weapon. In politics you only achieve something through demagoguery, not through rational argument...."

OPZZ Fails to Agree on Appeal to Workers

*LD2710153489 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Text] At today's meeting the National Trade Union Federation [OPZZ] Executive Committee was to adopt a text of an appeal to the working people that was to include the main demands of the trade union movement associated within the OPZZ in the present socioeconomic situation. The appeal was not adopted because of significant differences of opinion.

Many participants in the discussion critically assessed not only the specific statement in the appeal but, above all, its demanding tone and the fact that this is not compatible with the overwhelming part of the public opinion. It was said that something very strange is happening in the country because, despite the price increases and the deterioration in the living conditions, society remains calm. In a similar economic situation any of the previous governments teams would have been swept away. This means the people are at last beginning to respect the authorities and they believe something will change for the better in the end. The trade union movement associated within the OPZZ must draw conclusions from this fact.

Jaruzelski Receives OPZZ's Miodowicz 27 Oct

*LD2710205989 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Union Accord (OPZZ), who presented the situation of the trade union organizations associated within the OPZZ. He also presented opinions and assessments being formulated by employees from state enterprises on the economic situation and the living conditions.

Alfred Miodowicz briefed the president on actions being undertaken by the OPZZ in defense of the interests of the working people. He also spoke about an initiative of the OPZZ to reach an agreement between the government and the trade unions on issues arising from the implementation of the government economic program.

OPZZ Ends Protest Action 28 Oct

*LD2810183189 Warsaw PAP in English
1746 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—The nation-wide OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) protest action that lasted from October 23 ended today, the OPZZ Press Office reported.

More than 500 factory trade union organizations representing all industrial branches were taking part in the protest. No strikes took place in the course of the action.

Participants in the protest demanded that the government quickly take the initiative of the OPZZ Council of October 5 on signing an agreement with trade unions on issues that are stemming from the implementation of the government economic programme.

They welcomed with recognition the government's goodwill to constructively cooperate with trade unions as evidenced by the recent meeting of Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz with OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz.

Government Stand on KPN Occupation Explained

*LD2810054589 Warsaw PAP in English
2307 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—In the prime time news bulletin tonight minister, head of the office of the Council of Ministers, Jacek Ambroziak presented the stand of the government on the recent incidents in which members of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) illegally occupied office rooms.

Ambroziak said that more than a week ago the government had sent a telex to voivodes and town mayors in which it advised that they, according to their possibilities, assign premises to all new parties, political and social organizations. Many of the parties have already undertaken and held such talks with voivodes and some of them have also received premises.

Unfortunately, activists of KPN instead of carrying out routine negotiations, talks and discussions with voivodes on office rooms which would suit them and ensure proper conditions for their work, decided to occupy rooms in public buildings and municipal offices, Ambroziak said.

"Therefore, last Thursday after a tele-conference with voivodes I obliged them to be tough in such cases and to remove intruders who illegally occupy premises which have not been assigned to them," he said.

Young People Protest Zarnowiec Nuclear Plant

LD2810054789 Warsaw PAP in English
2206 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 27—Young people rallied here today to protest against the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, north-west of Gdansk.

The demonstration was held at the initiative of youth from the "Freedom and Peace" movement, "Anti-Atom Federation," "Fighting Solidarity," and "Federation of Fighting Youth."

Interparliamentary Union Group Elects Officials

LD3010210689 Warsaw PAP in English
1833 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The Polish group of the Interparliamentary Union met for the first time in the present Sejm's term of office here today to elect its board and presidium.

Deputy Marian Orzechowski (PUWP) was elected the union's chairman, his deputies include: Senator Wladyslaw Findeisen and deputies Janusz Onyszkiewicz (Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group), Jan Rajtar (United Peasant's Party) and Teresa Dobielinska-Eliszewska (Democratic Party).

Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz is a member of the 13-strong Executive Committee of the Interparliamentary Union.

It is expected that the Polish group will soon set up bilateral parliamentary groups for cooperation with parliaments of particular states. To date, there have been 10 such groups.

Peasants' Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

LD2610124489 Warsaw PAP in English
0107 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party (UPP) resolved on Wednesday to speed up the 11th Extraordinary UPP Congress and the Congress of the Peasant Movement's rebirth, fixing the date for November 26.

The plenum focused on the situation in the peasant movement and on Polish transformations, with particular regard to economic reforms and ensuing tasks for the Peasant Party.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the political situation in the UPP and the Peasant Movement, and on tasks connected with preparations for the 11th Extraordinary Congress.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 18-24 Oct

AU2710173589

[Editorial report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 19 to 25 October reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland on 18 October. (19 Oct 89 p 2) He received a delegation of the French Christian-Democratic party led by Pierre Mehaignerie on 24 October. (25 Oct 89 p 3).

Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary met party members in Zyrardow to discuss the outcome of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 20 October. (21-22 Oct 89 pp 1, 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and leader of the PZPR Deputies Club, received DPRK Ambassador Pak Sang-am on 18 October. (19 Oct 89 p 2) He received FRG Ambassador Franz Joachim Schoeller on 18 October. (20 Oct 89 p 2) He received GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll on 19 October. (20 Oct 89 p 2) He attended the funeral of the recently deceased Marshal of Poland Michal Zymierski on 20 October. (21-22 Oct 89 p 2)

Marek Krol, Central Committee secretary, attended a discussion meeting held at the TRYBUNA LUDU Discussion Club "MEGAWAT" in Belchatow on 18 October. (19 Oct 89 p 2) He attended a meeting of the "Belma" Factory PZPR factory committee in Bydgoszcz on 20 October. (21-22 Oct 89 p 2)

Minister of Labor and Social Policy Jacek Kuron met with representatives of the Council of the Polish Old Age and Invalidity Pensioners Association with their chairman L. Kepinski on 18 October. (19 Oct 89 p 2)

Aleksander Hall, minister without portfolio responsible for social organizations and political parties and member of the Council of Ministers, met with Grzegorz Dittrich, chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth on 18 October. (19 Oct 89 p 2)

Ceausescu Views Road Traveled by Socialism

AU2410171089 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 25 Oct 89 p 1-3, 5

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on Problems of Socialism and of the Ideological, Political, and Educational Activity of Developing the Revolutionary Awareness of and Fashioning the New Man, Conscious Builder of Socialism and Communism in Romania," at the opening of the enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, in Bucharest on 24 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee believes that the current plenum should discuss problems of socialism and of the ideological and political-educational activity aimed at developing revolutionary awareness and molding the new man, the conscious builder of socialism and communism in Romania. [applause]

This discussion is necessary because 45 years have elapsed since the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, and 41 years since we embarked on the road of socialist construction. At the same time, this discussion seems to be necessary as a result of the fact that various theses and ideas have emerged in the world regarding the construction of socialism, the prospects of the revolutionary struggle, and the general development of socialism in the world.

Likewise, reactionary anti-socialist and anti-communist circles are intensifying their activity aimed at interference in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries in order to destabilize the situation in these countries and to weaken socialist construction.

Under the current circumstances, a scientific examination of the road traveled during socialist construction and of the current stage of socialism in our country is an objective requirement and, on the basis of the conclusions drawn from practice and social realities, we have to supply theoretical answers and arm the party and all our people with a correct knowledge and understanding of the socioeconomic realities, of the objective laws, the principles of scientific socialism, and of the revolutionary concept in general regarding the development road of our homeland and of the whole of mankind toward a system without classes, without oppressors, and toward achieving the most just system in the world—socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

We have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to make this analysis before the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] in order to better understand the current problems of the socioeconomic development of socialism and of the world situation, so that the discussions and decisions of the congress will give scientific and revolutionary prospects to the unflinching implementation of the party program aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist

society and creating conditions for the transition to the affirmation of the communist principles in our homeland in all areas. [applause]

Esteemed Comrades, more than 140 years have elapsed since the emergence of scientific socialism. The founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, critically examined the development of human society, especially of capitalism, on the basis of the revolutionary concepts about the world and life—dialectical and historic materialism. As is well known, scientific socialism developed through determined struggle against utopic socialism, bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts on socialism, against anarchism, reformism, liquidatorism [lichidatorismului], and against various idealistic and pseudo-revolutionary concepts.

The construction of scientific socialism and of the uniform revolutionary concept of the proletariat regarding the understanding and revolutionary transformation of the world marked the victory of the revolutionary spirit in the workers movement and ensured prospects for the united struggle of the workers class, of the proletariat, and of the progressive forces everywhere in order to overthrow the capitalist system, that is based on exploitation and oppression, and to attain a new system based on equality and equity in which the working people and peoples will be truly free, independent, and masters of their destiny. [applause]

It is necessary to constantly stress the fact that the founders of scientific socialism never viewed their theory as something that had been formulated definitively, once and for all. As is known, they always drew attention to the fact that they only set the basis for a revolutionary, dialectical-materialist concept about the world and life, which has to be constantly developed and enriched on the basis of practice and revolutionary theory as a result of the development of the forces of production, of science, technology, culture, and human knowledge in general.

During the 140 years that have elapsed since the publication of the Communist Party Manifesto, humanity experienced profound revolutionary changes. The workers movement also went through numerous organizational and development stages. Ever since the First Communist International, founded by Marx and Engels, up to the Second International, and then up to the Third International, and up to our days, the workers movement, the parties of the workers class have gone through various forms of organization and, at the same time, various concepts developed regarding the way to free the workers class from oppression and exploitation, and the way to attain the socialist system.

An objective and even very brief analysis tellingly demonstrates, on the basis of reality and life—the genuine judge—that scientific socialism has demonstrated its potential and its invincibility. The revolutionary workers movement and the parties of the workers class have—as is well known—various concepts of the way to

fulfill the socialist revolution and construction. Despite all this, they played and continue to play an ever greater role at home and in the international arena in the struggle for socioeconomic progress, for peace, and for a better and more just world.

It is a well-known and undeniable fact that the communist parties, primarily the CPSU, have assumed the historical responsibility of carrying out the proletarian revolution and embarking on the road of socialist construction.

Some 72 years have elapsed since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the world, in which the socialist society was built.

At the end of World War II and in the following years, other nations embarked upon the road of the October Revolution, including the Romanian people, who overthrew the bourgeois-landlord system forever and laid the bright foundation of the socialist society in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Everybody knows that, generally speaking, the socialist countries have obtained great achievements in eliminating backwardness and successfully building socialism. One can say, without fear of being wrong, that socialism has proved its strength and solidarity as the most just and humane social system ever known to mankind to date. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, new states and peoples from the developing countries have embarked upon the road of socialism, in various forms and stages. Likewise, in various capitalist countries, the socialist and social-democratic parties have implemented a number of social reforms and have nationalized certain important sectors of the national economy. However, one should openly say that all of these most important measures, from a socioeconomic viewpoint, have not led to the elimination of the unjust and unfair system. Nobody can contest the fact that the exploiting classes and man's exploitation by man were liquidated only in the socialist countries, which have laid a sound foundation for the new, socialist system.

An examination of mankind's entire historical development, of the workers' movement, and of socialism clearly shows the great strength of the revolutionary workers' movement, of the workers' parties and the trade union movement, and of socialism in general, as well as their important role in international life and in the struggle for socioeconomic progress, freedom, independence, and peace in the world. [cheers, chants]

One can state that there is no significant issue of our world's development in which the workers' class, the parties of the workers' class, the socialist countries, and the peoples struggling for independence and freedom do not play an ever more important part. Socialism has become a huge world power, thus proving that only along

this path can the nations secure their free and independent socioeconomic development, well-being, and happiness. [cheers, chants]

In the current complex international circumstances, it is vitally important to ensure that our ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activity strongly emphasizes the strength of the revolutionary scientific socialism and scientifically proves that only socialism represents all of mankind's bright future of well-being, happiness, freedom, and peace. [cheers, chants]

Ideological activity should also prove that the victory of socialism is inevitable, regardless of obstacles, and that sooner or later all people will step onto the path of socialism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the analysis of the current stage of socialism in Romania, presented in detail in the documents for the 14th Party Congress, proves that, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, the Romanian people have obtained outstanding achievements in all of their socioeconomic development. In a relatively short period of time, our country has covered several historical stages—from the bourgeois-landlord system, with many feudal remnants, to the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society. From a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country, Romania has turned in the years of socialist construction, and particularly after the Ninth Party Congress, into a strong industrial-agrarian state, with a modern industry based on the latest achievements of science and technology and with the development of socialist agriculture in full swing. The ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activity should strongly point out the great revolutionary changes and achievements obtained by the Romanian people along the road of socialism. It should draw lessons and conclusions from all of the practical activity to date and should strongly emphasize the relevant conclusions for future activity, thus arming the party and the whole nation with a long-term revolutionary concept, which can light up the path toward the highest peaks of communism. [cheers, chants]

In order to properly understand the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society, it is necessary to constantly emphasize the Romanian people's entire development process and to pay particular attention to advertising our people's history and struggle for existence and for the formation of the nation, of the united national state, and of the Romanian language and culture. Greater attention should be paid to ideological and political-educational activity and to historical science, because only through a scientific understanding of our people's past and struggle, based on historical truth, will we be able to realize the way in which our nation was formed, its current level of development, and the historical meaning of the transition to socialism and the successful construction of the new socialist system.

All of the people, particularly the young generation, must correctly realize that for more than 2,000 years, our forefathers—their most enlightened men and the people

themselves, who are the true shapers of history —have waged difficult battles with great sacrifices and have always thought both about our past and present and about the future of our people and country; they did all they could and even sacrificed their lives to ensure a bright future for our nation. [cheers, chants]

Everybody must realize that the most advanced people within our nation and the broad masses have never thought, not even in the harshest conditions, about leaving the land in which they were born, the land where their forefathers lived and where the offspring of their offspring should live forever. [cheers, chants]

Scientists and archaeologists need not look for traces of our forefathers by digging in other lands and on other continents, because our forefathers have lived and developed in these lands long before the emergence of the first centralized Dacian state. One should strongly emphasize this and firmly reject the theses put forward by some would-be historians, who, in their chauvinist and reactionary activities, are trying to falsify truth and reality, thus harming both their own peoples and the cause of friendship and cooperation among peoples, of friendship and cooperation in the world. [cheers, chants]

I emphasize all of this because historians should play a very important role in the ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activity of fashioning the new man and should give firm answers that serve the cause of socialism, friendship, and cooperation among nations; they should reject any kind of counterrevolutionary, revisionist, and nationalist activity. [cheers, chants]

Only thus will we raise good builders of socialism and communism in Romania, who are determined to ensure our nation's constant development along the road of socialism and communism, as well as its independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in examining the current stage of our socioeconomic development and of socialist construction, our ideological, theoretical, and political-educational activity has to vigorously emphasize the great achievements attained in our country's development in general, the vigorous increase in the industrial and agricultural output, and in the national revenue, and the constant improvement in the material and cultural well-being of our people.

The 130-fold increase in industrial output compared with 1945, 120-fold of which came in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, the 10-fold increase in agricultural output, of which 6-fold came after the Ninth Congress, and the 40-fold increase in the national revenue, of which 33-fold came after the Ninth Congress demonstrates, on the basis of facts, the potential of the socialist system and creative energy of our people, who, for the first time, have become genuinely free and complete masters of their destiny, and who are building their future as they desire. [cheers, chants]

In accordance with international statistics, Romania ranks among the first countries in the world with such socioeconomic growth rates. Some countries even place Romania first regarding socioeconomic development after World War II.

The forces of production have played a decisive and revolutionary role in these great achievements, they have developed vigorously, thus ensuring our country's many-sided progress. We must emphatically stress the decisive role played by the forces of production as a decisive factor for socioeconomic development and for successfully building the socialist society. As a matter of fact, in this sense we have to emphasize that this is a generally valid law for the development and progress of the whole Romanian society.

Setting out from this, we have to examine how the party, our socialist state acted to ensure the fulfillment of the strategic objectives in the wake of 23 August [1944] and up to now. It is necessary to vigorously emphasize the important role played by the development and accumulation fund and by the allocation of an important part of the national income—more than 30 percent—for development purposes throughout the period following the Ninth Party Congress, thus ensuring a vigorous increase in the means of production, in fixed assets, and in the national wealth, contributing to the fulfillment of the great industrial, agrarian, social, and cultural targets, and ensuring Romania's elevation to great heights of progress and socialist civilization.

Starting with these facts, we must vigorously emphasize the need to continue—in conformity with the requirements of the development objectives—to allocate approximately 30 percent of the national income for the development and accumulation fund.

It is well known that several times and during several party congresses after 1965, I stressed the fact that if we do not ensure the development of the forces of production, their rational distribution throughout the country, and the allocation of an important part of the national income for development purposes, then we will condemn Romania to lagging behind, to backwardness for a long period of time.

Why did I have to emphasize this problem constantly? Because it is known that in our country, too, there were people, including in the party, who believed that we should not proceed toward developing the forces of production, that we should decrease allocations for development purposes, and remain an agricultural country par excellence, as was said formerly.

It is good to constantly recall this thing, because if the revolutionary concept on our society's development had not triumphed within the party, Romania would have stayed a backward country and the living standard would be very low. And precisely because of the revolutionary concept about the development of the forces of production, about accumulation, and socialism have our people

reached this very high socioeconomic development level of progress and well-being. [cheers, chants]

By proceeding from realities, we must strongly emphasize that life has tellingly demonstrated the correctness of our party's policy of vigorously developing industry, agriculture, and the forces of production on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. On this basis alone we have been able to attain great achievements in our country's development in general.

Likewise, now, when in some socialist countries, the very existence of the socialist state and cooperative ownership is being questioned, it is necessary for us to vigorously emphasize, throughout our theoretical and political-educational activity, the decisive role played by socialist state and cooperative ownership in the achievement of our great progress and in Romania's development in general. We must also vigorously emphasize that the successful construction of socialism in our homeland, and in the world in general, can be accomplished solely on the basis of more and more vigorously developing the state and cooperative ownership of the whole people on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas. [applause]

At the same time, it is necessary to stress the particular importance of large ownership, without, however, diminishing or neglecting the development of the small-scale industrial production. However, we should demonstrate in a scientific and theoretical way that only great ownership can ensure the general development of our socialist society, just as of any other society, and we should do all we can in order to ensure, strengthen, and continuously develop great socialist ownership. While we emphasize the great achievements obtained by the Romanian people in the construction of socialism, we should also stress the historical role played by the Ninth RCP Congress, which put an end to the policy of kowtowing to everything that is foreign, and eliminated set patterns, conservatism, and the concept of a single model in socialist construction, and the mechanical copying of ways in which things are being done in other countries; the Ninth Congress returned the party and the people their feelings of dignity and confidence in their own forces, stressing the need for the unflinching application of the principles of scientific socialism and of the objective laws, in accordance with the realities prevailing in Romania. [applause]

During the whole period that followed the Ninth RCP Congress we have proceeded from the fact that socialism is being achieved in a different way from one country to another, from one period to another, and that each communist party and social political forces in each country are dutybound to completely understand the principles of socialism and objective laws and appropriately apply them to the realities prevailing in each country. In accordance with these principles, we have worked to continuously perfect all forms of management and of achieving socialism, starting from the fact that one should always bear in mind that concurrently with

the development of science, technology, and culture, and of general knowledge, and the progress on the road of socialism, we should permanently improve the forms of organizing and implementing the new social system and that socialism is not achieved once and forever and that only its continuous perfecting will ensure the necessary conditions to ensure that its development is closely linked with the latest developments of science and technology and, in increasingly better conditions, it is in keeping with the requirements of the progress, well-being, independence, and sovereignty.

In this spirit we have achieved the new economic mechanism. We have continuously perfected the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, and as is well known, we continue to improve ourselves and to insist on the application of these principles in the most correct way in all fields of activity.

We have always taken into consideration the increase of working people's responsibility in their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users, in the management of all sectors of activity and the need that each socioeconomic unit should carry out their activity in accordance with the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing and should ensure maximum benefits and profitability in the whole socioeconomic activity. One cannot speak about socialism without a greatly profitable, efficient economy and without a society that ensures the increase of the means of enlarged reproduction and, at the same time, of improving our people's general standard of living. [applause]

As is well known, we have improved the forms of ownership, starting with the direct responsibility of working people for the production fund, up to their responsibility to administer them and ensure their proper development. We have discovered new forms of incentives as far as ownership is concerned, by ensuring profit sharing and perfecting the system of remuneration on the basis of socialist principles: from each according to his ability and to each according to work done and proceeding from the principle of no work without bread but no bread without work either. We have always proceeded from the principle that in our socialist society nobody can live by exploiting the work of others and nobody can or should live without work and the income of all working people and of all citizens should be determined only by work, by the activity that they carry out in one sector or another, and by their contribution to the general development of our country. Our theoretical-ideological and political-educational activities should contribute to the perfecting of our whole management and remuneration system and it has to be understood that only on the basis of principles of equity and social justice can proper and dignified living conditions for all citizens of our homeland be ensured.

There has been much talk lately about the goals of socialist production and about the so-called market economy. It is necessary to emphasize that everything that is being achieved in our homeland, in socialism, is

aimed at the general development of our country, the steady progress of our homeland, and the continuous improvement of the material and cultural standard of our people, the ultimate aim of the policy of our Communist Party and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society, which we are successfully building in Romania. [applause]

It is true that the question what does socialism represent has been answered a long time ago. However we must emphasize, in order to be clearly understood by our whole nation and by all our young people, that socialism represents a completely new system compared to the old systems and to capitalism, in which oppression and both social and national inequalities are the true realities of all times and of today.

We must stress that one cannot speak of socialism without eliminating exploitation, oppression, inequalities, oppressing classes, and without ensuring true social and national justice, which guarantees complete equality of rights for all citizens of our homeland and creates proper conditions for asserting human personality in close accordance with the overall interests of our whole nation and of well-being, independence, and progress. [applause]

We should constantly emphasize that the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord system and of the old system in general as well as the establishment of the power of workers and peasants and the transition to the socialist construction represents only the start of the construction of socialism, not the actual construction itself. The construction of the socialist society is closely linked with the development level of the forces of production in various countries. There is no doubt that in the poorly developed countries, like Romania used to be, the construction of socialism, with all its might, requires a long period of time as well as efforts and self-denial from the revolutionary forces and the whole nation. You may recall that there has been no congress or any other important occasion when I did not emphasize the need to understand this requirement. We have covered a long distance and have scaled the high peaks of socialism. However, there is still a long road to cover, which requires unity, efforts, and the united work of the whole nation. We will build socialism and will ensure a dignified and free life for our people, equal to the standards of any other nation. This must be the decision of our party and people. This is the meaning of the struggle for socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

I stress all this because, as you know, people in some countries say that socialism has not yielded very good results and that one should look for other development roads. As a matter of fact, this amounts to capitulation when faced with difficulties and shows a lack of understanding, to say the least, of the meaning of socialism and the conditions in which it is being built. I believe that our ideological activity has also failed to pay appropriate attention to these matters, as it considered that the meaning of socialism has been understood by everybody and that when one talks about socialism everybody

knows the meaning of the word. This is not true, comrades. We must always discuss and teach this issue, not only theoretically, but also the ways and means of building socialism, under what conditions it can be built, and how one should work in his particular field of activity to build the best kind of socialist society, by bearing in mind that there will always be room for improvement and that nothing will ever be perfect. When we reach perfection, we will have nothing left to do and we can rest. However, there is a long way to go till then and our generation, as well as the next few generations will still have to work hard to understand and develop socialism in accordance with our people's requirements and with the socialist principles, so as to raise the fatherland's overall development. We will thus make a contribution to the worldwide understanding of the meaning of socialism and of the ways and means for its construction. [cheers, chants]

It is necessary to firmly combat the theses of the so-called market economy, which means to leave the development of the national economy and the ensurance of proper supplies for the people's dignified life to take place at random; it also means to give a free hand to profiteering and pave the road to the worsening of the people's living standard. We must strongly emphasize that the entire work of socioeconomic development should set out from the interests of further developing the fatherland and raising the people's living standard and we should ensure a balanced overall development, on the basis of the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development of the entire economy and country, including the rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country. Only thus will we appropriately develop all areas and the entire country, raise the overall level of progress and civilization, and ensure true equality of rights among all citizens.

The reality from certain socialist countries which are proceeding toward the market economy—namely the increase in inflation and profiteering and the reduction of the working people's living standards—clearly shows the consequences of such a policy and the inherent dangers for the development of the socialist society itself. The market economy is widely discussed today in many socialist countries and steps are being taken regarding the process of socialist construction. There is much talk about improvement, renewal, restructuring, and other forms. There is no doubt that it is necessary to concern oneself with finding the best ways and means for socialist construction; generally speaking, these preoccupations will lead to the further development of socialism. At the same time, some countries are adopting measures which weaken the positions of socialism and pave the road for reinstating capitalism, under various forms.

Some openly state that they are ready to follow the model of some capitalist countries. It is hard to understand that socialism can be developed and improved by following the model of the capitalist system, which is divided in exploiting and exploited classes. As a matter of fact, it is not by chance that certain capitalist countries

say that they are prepared to grant all kinds of assistance, including financial aid, for the implementation of measures aimed at developing certain capitalist positions, while the mass information media are praising to heaven such measures aimed at liquidating the socialist society.

One should probably recall the question raised last century by the socialist Bebel [August Bebel] during the reign of Bismarck: What did you do wrong poor Bebel, that reactionary circles are praising you? Some people should ask themselves not only what they did wrong but also what kind of socialism they want to build, if the imperialist circles are praising it and want to finance it? There is no way in which one can talk about socialist development while liquidating the people's ownership of the means of production. One may raise the issue of improving the ownership system, but rather by strengthening the peasants' and workers' ownership of the means of production, not by liquidating it and transferring the means of production into the hands of various smaller or bigger capitalists. This also applies to many other problems of the socialist development.

We believe that, in view of the very important problems of socialist development and the need to draw overall conclusions from the road covered thus far, it is necessary to organize a broad meeting of all countries building socialism or advocating the socialist road—to examine and draw conclusions from the distance covered so far and to establish ways and means of action to improve the socialist construction and create the new system without oppressors and exploiters, in which the working people and the nations are truly free and masters of their national riches and can decide their development path as they think best. There is no doubt that each party and people will have to independently decide its own development path and choose the forms it deems most adequate to conditions prevailing in a given country. However, this does not run counter to the need to broadly discuss current and future problems of building the socialist construction and to strongly assert the need to find the best ways and means to implement the principles of scientific socialism and create a society without oppressors, in which the people are truly free, equal, and masters of their destiny. [cheers, chants]

Likewise, we are ready to participate in a broad discussion of the current problems of socialism and capitalism, under whatever form is acceptable to both sides, so as to draw comparisons between the ways in which the two social systems are resolving socioeconomic problems, ensure the best working and living conditions, and solve such problems, with a view to raising the general well-being of nations. We mention this because we believe that the ideological, theoretical, and political activity should thoroughly examine the realities prevailing in socialism and capitalism and, on this basis, it should prove to our people and all nations everywhere the superiority of the socialist society and of the power of the working people, who have eliminated oppression and inequalities and are freely and independently building a classless society without oppressors. Our ideological, theoretical, and political-educational

activity should strongly emphasize, on the basis of facts and of the objective laws of human social development, the need to strengthen the role of the uniform national plan for a balanced economic development, which also presupposes a broad participation of all socioeconomic and territorial units in drafting and implementing the plans, in the spirit of the principles of self-management. The elimination of certain phenomena of bureaucratism and excessive centralism should not be confounded with renunciation of economic management on the basis of the uniform development plan, and should not pave the road to the free market and the market socialism, which actually means freedom for the development of various capitalist forms. Generally speaking, the entire theoretical and scientific activity, particularly in the sphere of socioeconomic sciences, should draw conclusions from the practical experience of our country and other socialist countries and from the world experience, and should clearly define future guidelines for the development and management of the national economy on the basis of the uniform national plan, a guarantee for the fulfillment of the party program and for the successful construction of communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, as is well known, the party Central Committee plenum on ideological problems of 1982 provided answers and guidelines to a number of theoretical and practical problems regarding socialist construction, workers democracy, the state, and the role of the party. In conformity with the decisions of the party congresses, in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress and the plenum of the party Central Committee plenum on ideological problems a number of measures were adopted aimed at perfecting and ensuring the operation of state bodies, of the workers revolutionary democracy bodies, and at creating the necessary conditions for the broad participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, of all working people, and our whole nation in the management of all sectors of activity and in formulating our homeland's domestic and foreign policy.

One can say that the party's ideological program has fully preserved its topicality, but it goes without saying that it has to be improved with some problems and conclusions drawn from our subsequent activity and our future activity.

Now, when in some socialist countries and at the world level in general discussions are taking place and various theses are formulated which lead to the negation of the role of the state, of the party, of the workers revolutionary democracy itself, and to orientations toward a bourgeois-type democracy, it is well known that discussions about the state and democracy are not new. In discussing the state, we have to bear in mind that the state emerged in certain historic conditions and its activity can change in accordance with the development of the human society, that the state can be viewed solely within the context of the existence of antagonistic classes, and we also have to bear in mind which classes hold the political and state power. One cannot speak about an abstract state, but only about the capitalist state

of the exploiting classes and about the socialist state of the workers and peasants. And each of them has the duty to ensure the interests of the classes they represent. Without negating the role and the importance of democracy in the bourgeois society, one can by no means place the equal sign between bourgeois democracy and the workers revolutionary democracy. One cannot speak about equality between rich and poor, between oppressors and oppressed.

Starting from the scientific and dialectical understanding of the state and its role in society, we must always bear in mind that the implementation of the social revolution presupposes also the creation of the worker-peasant state in which the power will be in the hands of the working people, who will protect the interests of the working masses and will neither tolerate exploitation and oppression nor social and national inequalities.

Under such conditions, the state turns into an instrument of building socialism, of the people's well-being, and of safeguarding national independence and sovereignty. As far as the notion of dictatorship of the proletariat is concerned, it must be said that it was wrongly understood and distorted.

The establishment of the worker-peasant power in alliance with the intelligentsia and with all categories of the working people, constitutes the highest and most supreme form of democracy and not of a dictatorship, because the political power is in the hand of the people, who are consciously building their own free future in socialism and communism.

Starting from this, as far back as the plenum on ideological problems, our party decided that the notion and thesis of the proletarian dictatorship should be considered wrong, and that it should be abandoned completely. At the same time, it formulated the thesis of the state of workers revolutionary democracy, which is fully in keeping with the nature of our socialist system and with the construction of socialism with the people and for the people.

This is why it is necessary for us to constantly bear in mind to perfect the activity of our state and of its bodies managing, together with our people, the whole work of socialist construction. At the same time, we must constantly bear in mind, as has always been stressed in our party documents following the Ninth RCP Congress, that the state and its bodies have to base their activity on our country's Constitution and the laws that govern economic social relations in all areas, and we must bear in mind that the whole activity of the state has to take place solely on the basis of the laws issued by the Grand National Assembly after broadly consulting the whole nation. This is, actually, one of the requirements of particular and basic importance of workers revolutionary democracy and of the power of the whole nation. [applause]

At the same time, it is necessary to vigorously develop the activity of the county, town, and communal people's councils as bodies of regional self-management and self-administration which are fully responsible for the

proper organization and progress of all activities in all areas. They have to carry out broad activity in close cooperation and by constantly consulting the citizens in each settlement.

All activities of the central and local state bodies have to be carried out constantly in close cooperation with and under the direct control of the people. At the same time, we have achieved a broad system of workers revolutionary democracy: the working people's councils and general assemblies as bodies of the owners and producers, which are responsible for managing all socioeconomic activities, and the county and countrywide bodies of workers revolutionary democracy, in which the workers' representatives hold a share of more than 30 percent.

In developing the system of the workers revolutionary democracy, we started and continue to start from the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, and from the fact that the construction of socialism is the work of the whole people who have become the masters of their destiny and are freely building their own future. There is no other democracy in the world superior to the one in which the people themselves are deciding their own destiny. This is the genuine socialist and communist form of democracy. [cheers, chants]

In all our ideological and political-education activities, we have to constantly emphasize the undeniable superiority of workers revolutionary democracy compared with any kind of bourgeois democracy by proceeding from the fact that one cannot speak of a genuine democracy under conditions of oppression and exploitation of man; we have to stress that only socialism that eliminates capitalist ownership of the means of production, as well as exploitation and oppression, can ensure genuine democracy, freedom, and the complete participation of the people in managing all sectors of activity.

In our ideological, theoretical, political, and educational activity, we must emphatically stress the superiority of the system of workers revolutionary democracy in our homeland—unique in its kind—as well as the need to constantly perfect the whole democratic framework, to enhance the role of the people's masses throughout the socioeconomic activity, and to smoothly blend the activity of the state bodies and of the workers socialist democracy bodies, thus achieving a concerted system which will guarantee the unflinching implementation of the programs for building socialism, for improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people, and for constantly strengthening Romania's force, independence, and sovereignty. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, all great achievements attained in the socialist development of our homeland tellingly demonstrate the correctness of the party's policy and of its leading role in all areas.

The discussions that are taking place in some socialist countries regarding the decrease or even renunciation of the party's leading role, can only cause great harm to the unity of the workers class and of the whole people and to

the very construction of the socialist society. One can by no means talk about the renunciation of the party's leading role in organizing and uniting the efforts of all people in the work of socioeconomic development and in socialist construction.

The aim of the theses about the party-state or state-party is to disorient and to create confusion among the ranks of the party and the people's masses. The party's ideological program has clearly emphasized that the party does not propose and by no means should propose replacing the state bodies whose duty it is to ensure the proper organization and progress of all socioeconomic activities in conformity with our country's laws.

However, the party bodies and organizations, the Communists who are active in various socioeconomic and state sectors of activity are fully responsible for the activity of those bodies and for the firm application of the country's laws in all areas.

The party does not replace the state bodies and is not able to replace them. But, at the same time, it cannot shun tasks but has to bear full responsibility for the way in which the state and workers revolutionary democracy bodies are fulfilling their mission in our socialist society.

The achievement of the unity of the workers class and thus of a united revolutionary party is the law-governed result of the development of the struggle for socialism and it is an objective requirement of social development.

It is no accident that the reactionary imperialist circles are acting against the unity of the workers class, of the workers movement, and especially against the communist parties in the name of the so-called freedom of organization and of political pluralism.

The successful construction of socialism requires a constant strengthening of the unity of the revolutionary movement and the achievement of a united party with a revolutionary ideology, which will be able to play the role of vital core of the whole nation. Only such a party will be able to play the historic role of leading the nation toward communism and toward a world in which the people will be always free and independent. [cheers, chants]

Starting from this, it is necessary for us to pay particular attention to constantly strengthening the party and perfecting its role in all areas, to constantly developing the party's internal democracy as a factor of decisive importance for the country's development in general and for achieving the workers revolutionary democracy in all areas.

In all of our party activity we should unflinchingly apply the provisions of the statute. The criticism and self-criticism and the firm, combative attitude toward shortfalls, the open recognition of the negative states of affairs and the establishment of measures for their elimination, is a compulsory requirement of progress. We do not need a formal recognition of shortfalls but a disclosure of the real causes that generate them and establish the measures

for their elimination and for perfecting the activity in all areas. Criticism and self-criticism are basic aspects of the party life, of increasing the leading role of the party, and of continuously renewing and perfecting our socialist society. Likewise, it is necessary to ensure the continuous development of the party's internal democracy, the thorough discussion within the party bodies and organizations of the socioeconomic issues and problems of socialist construction, and the constant strengthening of the ties with the broad masses of working people. We should see to it that all party decisions and all the laws of our socialist state are broadly discussed within the party and in the general meetings with all working people, within the bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy, and with all our people. This is a requirement of the true workers' revolutionary democracy and the participation of the whole nation in the management of all sectors of activity, in the construction of socialism for the people and together with the people. Within this framework, I would like to stress the need to continuously strengthen the role of the workers class as a decisive factor of building socialism and communism. The ideological, political, and educational activities should demonstrate in a theoretical, scientific way the incorrectness of various theses regarding the diminution of the role of the workers class and the danger they pose for the building of socialism, including the issue of reducing the proportion of workers in some communist and workers parties, and in the management of various sectors of activity. No doubt that this means a strong underestimation of the role of the workers class in the socialist society and in the human society in general. As a matter of fact, one can state that reducing the proportion of workers in one party or another and increasing the proportion of middle categories have created social conditions for slackening the revolutionary spirit and for tendencies of petit bourgeois reforms, which lead to the weakening of the role of the party and jeopardize the construction of socialism itself. In our whole ideological and theoretical activity we have to emphasize and draw practical conclusion about the strengthening of the role of workers class, which is the leading class of our society, the importance of increasing the number of party members among workers—in the managerial bodies as well—in order to maintain the revolutionary and combat nature of the party. In general, it is necessary to emphasize the role of the workers class throughout the world as well as its unity in the struggle for socioeconomic progress, for freedom, disarmament, and peace. [applause]

At the same time, we should forcefully emphasize the increasing role of the mass and civic bodies, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, and of the other civic organizations which ensure the organized participation of all categories of people in the democratic management of various sectors of activity. We have to lay particular stress on the importance of the Social Democracy and Unity Organization, which comprises more than 4 million working people who are not RCP members and who, within this framework, participate in

the discussions and endorsement of all decisions, in close unity with communists and with all the civic bodies and organizations. Likewise, we should forcefully stress the importance and the role of the Social Democracy and Unity Front, which unites all forces and social categories and ensures the whole nation's participation, in complete unity, in working out the socioeconomic development programs and in taking actions for their implementation. The broad discussion itself of the 14th party congress with the people means an increase of the great democracy of our socialist society and at the same time, of the complete unity of our whole nation and of the fact that the decisions that will be adopted by the congress on the future development of our homeland represents the unanimous will of our whole nation to advance firmly on the path of the comprehensively developed socialist society toward the golden dream of the whole mankind, toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, proceeding from the fact that we noticed certain lags in ideological and political-education activity, it is necessary to intensify the work of raising the ideological level and the revolutionary awareness of the party and of all working people and firmly base our whole activity on the revolutionary concept about world and life and on the principles of scientific socialism. We should strongly develop the revolutionary spirit of responsibility for the interests of the people and the cause of socialism, and the independence and sovereignty of our country. In the field of social sciences, it is necessary to intensify the study of the new social phenomena on the basis of the revolutionary materialist-dialectical and historical concept and generally apply them, starting from the practice and from the realities of the experience gained in the construction of socialism, and scientific answers should be given to the complex problems brought about by the great revolutionary changes in the world and by the scientific-technical revolution.

First of all, it is necessary to review the scientific theses about socialism and to find solutions, from revolutionary positions, to various positions whereby socialism is no longer up to the new realities or, at best, it should be re-adapted in order to humor capitalists.

It is necessary to reject all of these anti-socialist theses and to give a firm answer to all of those who work to eliminate socialism. It must be proved in a convincing way that socialism has fully demonstrated its superiority and that it is the only viable alternative for eliminating the exploiting system and establishing a world of social equity and justice.

Special attention should be paid to the study and the understanding of the general, objective laws and to ensure their application to the realities prevailing in various social systems, in each country, and in each stage of development. Within this framework, the dialectical unity between the general and particular should be studied. Likewise, it is necessary to emphasize the new objective laws of socialism, which should be well understood and developed. Particular attention should be paid

to the correct understanding of contradictions in socialism and to the continuous need to find solutions to these contradictions in order to avoid their accumulation and avoid their becoming antagonistic. Ideological activity should forcefully emphasize the dialectical development of socialist society and the permanent struggle between the old and the new and the need to eliminate in time the old which does not correspond with the new realities and daringly promote the new in all fields of activity. This is a vital requirement for the development and the continuous renewal of socialist society. In general, social sciences and theoretical-ideological activity take into consideration that scientific socialism must be developed and enriched continuously on the basis of social practice and experience and the new discoveries of science and human knowledge in general. However, the activity of perfecting and renewing socialism should by no means open up the path to capitalist or anti-socialist forms, but should lead to the emphasis on the essential aspects of revolutionary socialism and to the greater assertion of the principles of socialist work and life and social ethics and equity.

Social sciences must embark with utmost responsibility upon developing a revolutionary concept about the world and life. Concurrently with the study of current problems and the general application of advanced experience, actions must be taken to start elaborating the ways of gradual passage to implementing the communist principles of work and life. It is necessary to work out a theoretical, uniform, revolutionary concept which should give clear prospects to our progress and should lighten the party's and people's path to unflinching advancement toward the high pinnacles of communist civilization. [applause]

The political-education activity should arm the party and all of the working people with the most advanced scientific, professional, technical, and cultural knowledge in all areas. Let us work to implement the objectives stipulated in the Program-Directive and the theses for the 14th Party Congress on achieving in the next 10-year period a high level of training young people and all working people, on ensuring that the workers' class and the peasantry turn into a class with a high cultural and intellectual level, and on raising the level of knowledge of our whole nation so that it becomes a strong force with thorough training in all fields of activity and with a complete understanding of the changes that take place in the world and the prospects of mankind's development. This is a basic requirement for the firm advancement of our homeland and for raising it to new peaks of progress and civilization.

It is necessary to permanently bear in mind that the successful construction of socialism and communism cannot be achieved without basing it on the latest scientific and technological discoveries. Therefore, in our activity we must focus on developing and perfecting scientific research in all areas. The scientific organization and modernization of production and of all activity on the bases of the latest

scientific and technological discoveries represents an objective and lawlike requirement for the continuous perfecting of our socialist society. In our educational activity of shaping the revolutionary awareness of the young people, a decisive role is incumbent on grades of education. As early as in kindergarten, and up to their graduation from our 12-grade higher schools, children and all young people are enrolled—for 14-15 years—in an educational system, in professional education, in higher education, and in various other forms of training and retraining courses. Proceeding from this reality, it is necessary to work to perfect the activity of all grades of education; to increase the educational role of molding young people in the spirit of the revolutionary concepts about the world and life, of patriotism and love for work, and of fearless struggle for progress and for the construction of socialism and for being always ready to defend the homeland, socialism, and the country's independence. [applause]

Let us do all we can to see to it that all young people at all levels of education acquire the most advanced scientific and technical knowledge, and human knowledge in general, on the basis of the revolutionary dialectical and historical materialist concept. Likewise, an important role is also played by the social-political education which should contribute to a thorough study of the laws of human and social development, thus ensuring a development of human and social laws, thus ensuring a high level of revolutionary and patriotic awareness for all of the young people of our homeland. Likewise, we should also intensify the activity of spreading among the masses of people and the whole nation the scientific knowledge about the world and life and about the origin of life on earth and of the prospects, existence, and development of life on our planet. In all of our ideological activity, an important role is played by party education to shape party cadres on the basis of the latest revolutionary concepts of leadership of all socioeconomic sectors and to imprint upon the party activity a high spirit of revolutionary exactingness, a combative spirit, and responsibility before the party, the people, and the cause of socialism and communism.

The party education should ensure the molding of true, professional revolutionaries, and active militants for the victory of socialism and communism in our homeland. We should bear in mind that, today and in the future, the party and our people will always need true revolutionaries; only under these conditions will we ensure our progress. [applause]

In political-educational activity an important role is played by the party and mass political education which is being attended by more than 12 million working people. We have to see to it that mass political education, evening universities, and other forms of education ensure that all working people are armed with the most modern knowledge in all areas, and primarily in the area of social sciences, and with a thorough knowledge of the

objective laws and about the ways of the socialist development of humanity; we must see to it that they contribute actively to molding the revolutionary awareness of all working people and of our whole nation.

It is also necessary for us to raise the level of literary and artistic creativity to a greater extent. We need literature that is more militant, permeated by a great revolutionary and patriotic spirit, and inspired by our homeland's realities. It goes without saying that we have great achievements in this area. However, this time I do not propose to deal with them; I want to talk about what has to be done—especially in the future—in this area as well. We need militant prose and poetry, characterized by a revolutionary spirit that will dynamize the activity of our homeland's working people and youth; we need militant music characterized by a patriotic and revolutionary spirit, and we need better movies and better theaters. As I emphasized at the meeting with the working people in the area of the literary artistic creativity of May 1965, the most secure source of inspiration should be the people and the realities of our socialist society. One should not pursue foreign values, even if they are gilded all over, but, on the contrary, seek inspiration from the clear sources that spring forth from our ancient land; one should draw on the life-giving waters of our own springs. [applause]

The whole literary creativity must be a vigorous factor for raising the revolutionary awareness, and for dynamizing and improving the general standard of culture of our whole nation. We must constantly proceed from the fact that literature, music, and art in general, and the cultural-artistic activity have a high and special mission in improving the cultural standard of our people in general, and in implementing the programs for socioeconomic development and socialist construction.

We must firmly combat the outdated theses—which, unfortunately, are still circling even in our country—about so-called art for art's sake. It is well known that there has not been, does not exist, and never will be art for art's sake. Art has always been, is, and will always be a powerful factor of education, progress, and of increasing the patriotic and revolutionary awareness of the people. Those who, in one form or another, declare that they want to create so-called pure art, in fact shirk the progressive mission of culture and art and, willy nilly, join the forces that are hostile to progress and socialism, and those who use and want to preserve literature and art for ever as a means of strengthening their dominating positions, and who want to preserve the society divided into classes, oppression, and inequality.

The whole activity of cultural artistic creativity must be firmly involved in the activity of raising the standard of culture and general knowledge of youth and of all people, of molding the revolutionary awareness of the builders of socialism, and it must adopt a firm position against everything that is alien to progress, to socialist patriotism, to the happiness of man, and to the country's independence. Only in this way will our art fulfill its

historic mission. And it goes without saying that, like up to now, under stable and better conditions our art will fulfill its mission in the construction of socialism and communism, together with our whole people. [applause]

It is necessary for the entire cultural-artistic activity and the Song to Romania national festival, which plays an important role in the creativity of the people's masses, to turn into an ever stronger force in the masses' participation in overall cultural-artistic activity, thus guaranteeing a close link between art, culture, and the people, who are actually the genuine creators of our language and literature, and also of everything that is best in this area in Romania. [applause]

The press, radio, television, and all mass media have to constantly perfect their activity, they have to play an increasingly important role in the ensuring all people have proper information and an understanding of the complex problems of socioeconomic development, of political and educational problems, and of the problems of the international situation.

All political-educational activities have to pay particular attention to combating the negative phenomena which manifest themselves in various forms, including those as a result of the influence of bourgeois ideology and of the activity of reactionary and anti-socialist circles from outside.

A more combative, determined, and firm position has to be adopted toward the various nationalist, chauvinist, and anti-Semitic signs by vigorously stressing the correctness of the nationality policy promoted by our party, by ensuring complete equality of rights for all citizens of our homeland, and by stressing the fact that all citizens, irrespective of nationality, have the same rights and duties, and that in full unity we have to ensure the homeland's further progress toward new heights of progress and civilization

We must constantly unmask the past and present policy of reactionary circles, which have acted and continue to act to instigate national feuds and weaken the working people's unity, in order to promote their interests of domination and oppression. In this respect, firm riposte should be given to the Horthyists and new Horthyists, who are again rallying with the former and new Nazis, in order to revise borders and promote a policy of feuding among nations. Now, more than ever before, the political-educational activity should instill a spirit of justice and responsibility in our people, particularly in the young generation, and develop the commitment to defend the socialist property, socialism, and, I repeat, Romania's independence. [cheers, chants]

Likewise, it is necessary to show no mercy to manifestations of dishonesty, purloining, and theft, which, regardless of how we look upon them, are forms of anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary activity alien to the spirit of socialism and are actually remnants of the concepts and practices of the bourgeois-landlord system. We should educate the whole young generation and people in the

spirit of honesty, love for work, and ceaseless defense of public property and all property, so that they will show no mercy to anything that weakens and offends the man who builds the socialist society. Let us educate our young generation and people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism, of love for the fatherland, and of the unflinching determination to always be ready to defend the revolutionary and socialist conquests and do everything possible to promote the fatherland's ceaseless march forward toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

The political educational activity should strongly emphasize the superiority of socialism as the only system that ensures full equality among all the fatherland's citizens and conditions for the full assertion of the human personality and of the revolutionary socialism humanism, in which man is the primary factor of the entire activity. Proceeding from the documents of the 14th Party Congress, the political educational activity should strongly demonstrate the bright prospects for our fatherland's development and for the implementation of the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure our progress toward communism. The entire political educational activity should become a more active factor and a strong revolutionary force; it should lighten up the whole nation's path toward the fulfillment of the programs to develop the fatherland, raise the material and intellectual well-being, and achieve the golden dream, communism, in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the dialectical unity between our domestic and foreign policy requires a scientific analysis of the world political, economic, and social situation in order to best understand international events and the directions and prospects of the struggle for progress, for disarmament, peace, and cooperation among all nations in the world.

It is well known that great changes have taken place and are taking place in the world in the development of the human society and in the world balance of forces. Therefore, we must constantly bear in mind that the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism still exists and is even intensifying. At the same time, the contradiction between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, between rich and poor, is developing more and more vigorously, thus becoming one of the strongest contradictions that is obvious in the international arena today.

One can justifiably say that these contradictions in the present-day world play a decisive role in the development of the human society as a whole and that, without understanding them in a scientific way, one cannot draw appropriate conclusions for the assessment of the world situation and the development prospects of human society.

Indeed, certain steps have been taken in the past years—true, they are very small ones—toward disarmament and the beginning of negotiations between the two military

groupings—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—and certain conflicts are in the process of being resolved by negotiations. However, we must frankly say that all of this has not brought about a radical change in the international situation, it has not led to a new thinking and a new policy in solving the complex problems of the world situation.

It is our duty to tell our people and all peoples the truth and what realities are and to point out the fact that the international situation continues to be very complex and serious. The arms race, including the nuclear arms race, is being continued. Thus, the threat of a world war still exists; it would inevitably turn into a nuclear war that would destroy humanity and life itself on our planet.

The world's economic and political-social crisis in the capitalist world continues and is even intensifying. In the eighth 10-year period the economic situation of the developing countries deteriorated even more and the gap between rich and poor countries widened. At the same time, the economic, political, and social problems in the developed capitalist countries and the emergence in some socialist countries of phenomena of economic and political crisis lead to an even greater accentuation of instability and contradictions.

All of this led to the emergence of different conclusions and understandings and, it must be said, to erroneous conclusions about many of the international problems.

It seems that some leading imperialist circles have reached a wrong conclusion and believe that they can make use of the current international situation to change the world balance of forces in their favor and in the favor of the policy of domination, force, and dictate. Ignoring realities, these circles more and more insistently proclaim the omnipotence of capitalism and once again forecast the imminent disappearance of socialism.

By exaggerating certain mistakes and shortfalls in the socialist countries, certain rightist liquidatorist and reformist tendencies in these countries, as well as in some communist and workers parties, the imperialist reactionary circles have once again started an ideological and political offensive of slandering and undermining socialism, and promote interference in the domestic affairs of and destabilizing policies with regard to the socialist countries. By drawing on the obsolete and rusted arsenal of the cold war, they resort to all kinds of means, to disinformation of public opinion, to the slandering of socialism, to blackmail and diversion, economic and political repression, and even to direct financial aid for some anti-socialist and anti-national groupings and forces.

We must frankly say that the anti-socialist and anti-communist actions, and the actions against progressive countries, against the struggle for freedom and national independence, which are being taken by imperialist circles, are also facilitated by certain erroneous guidelines and tendencies to solve the problems of socialist construction and other problems in certain countries.

It is therefore necessary to emphatically stress that this policy of the imperialist circles is doomed to failure this time, as it has often been in the past. The socialist countries, the peoples who have built the new social system, have it in their power to overcome the difficulties that have emerged and, undoubtedly, socialism will assert itself with even greater vigor as the most just and humane social system ever. [cheers chants]

The united struggle of the progressive forces, of the socialist countries, and of the peoples who are struggling for independence and socioeconomic progress will undoubtedly overthrow the plans of the imperialists and reactionaries, and will open up ever new prospects for the progress of peoples on the road to progress, independence, well-being, and socialism. [cheers, chants]

No one will ever be able to stop the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence, for a better and more just life, and for a new social system. Likewise, it is necessary to emphasize, however, that anti-socialist, anti-communist actions, and actions against the progressive forces of imperialist circles pose a great danger for the policy of detente and international cooperation, for the policy of disarmament and peace, and will inevitably—if this continues—lead to an even greater deterioration of the world situation.

This is why we have to do all we can to reject the anti-socialist and anti-communist policy, and the policy against the independence of peoples. This is why it is necessary for the leading circles in imperialist countries to understand very well that this policy has no prospects and that it is at variance with the UN Charter and international norms, and with the policy of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation among all nations in the world. [applause]

The overall development of international events, realities, and life itself demonstrates how erroneous the thesis of de-ideologizing international relations is, as is the thesis according to which the class struggle ought to be replaced. There is talk about renouncing the class struggle and the struggle between different social systems as a condition for the survival of humanity and of preventing war.

What has this way of approaching problems in common with the materialist, dialectical, and historic revolutionary concept? Should one eliminate socialism and renounce the class struggle to ensure peace? Such an approach is not only a completely anti-scientific approach, but it is also at variance with any revolutionary and socialist concept. Were I to refer only to our own people, it is known that the problem of bowing their heads has never arisen. But, on the contrary, during the most difficult times they took up arms to defend their independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, in the past our poets quoted our heroes and in everlasting verses voiced our people's determination to fight. You are familiar with the poem: Better to die

struggling in complete glory than be slaves once again in our ancient land. [cheers, chants]

We must call things by their name: The purpose of such theses is to demoralize, to disarm the communists and peoples in the struggle for socialism and peace. Is this the way the founders of scientific socialism, the leaders of the communist and workers parties, and antifascists, who sacrificed their lives to crush Hitlerism, were thinking? With such concepts Hitlerism could not have been defeated, and Nazi barbarism would dominate today. Precisely because the communists, antifascists, and the best elements in the world rose against fascist barbarism by sacrificing their lives, fascism could be defeated and the peoples' freedom ensured.

The elimination of the threat of a nuclear war and the survival of humanity cannot be achieved through capitulation and by urging people to cease their struggle but, on the contrary, by intensifying the struggle against the imperialist policy, for disarmament, and to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. This can be achieved solely through the united struggle of peoples. [cheers, chants]

There is no doubt that one should properly understand today's realities. There are two diametrically opposed social systems in the world. This reality will continue to prevail for a long time to come. The problem raised by this situation, to which a solution has already been found, is to ensure peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and observance of each nation's right to choose its development path, without any outside interference. Everybody should realize that this is the only way to promote international cooperation and ensure the firm commitment of both sides to the option of general and nuclear disarmament and the creation of a world without arms and wars. This is the way to ensure mankind's survival and life on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Therefore, the theses that ideology should be taken out of international relations and the class struggle should be given up are in total contradiction with mankind's development to date, with contemporary world realities, and with the entire development of the struggle for socialism, progress, and peace in the world. [cheers, chants]

Rather than take ideology out of international relations, one should firmly promote progressive and socialist ideology as a means for the assertion of a new policy and thinking. The struggle for disarmament, peace, and the development of broad international cooperation among all states, regardless of social system, does not imply that one should renounce the concepts of socialism and the workers' class ideology about world and life, but rather that one should intensify the political-ideological activity of raising the awareness of the broad masses and all nations, about the need to ensure a policy of disarmament and peace as a vital prerequisite for all mankind. [cheers, chants]

No other thesis, regardless of what it may call itself, can replace the class struggle as a decisive element of the development of human society and as an objective law of mankind's progress and advance. The negotiated solution of the complex problems of international life objectively requires a firm policy of defending socialism, the freedom and independence of nations, and the conclusion of appropriate agreements and understandings on disarmament and the resolution of various international problems. The negotiated resolution of various conflicts and other world problems undoubtedly requires a spirit of understanding and certain concessions acceptable to both sides, as well as a realistic policy that takes into account each nation's interests and ensures each people's independence. However, this should never lead to principled concessions, which can endanger socialism and the freedom and independence of peoples.

Socialism, socioeconomic progress, and the freedom and independence of nations are non-negotiable. It is a well-known fact that, during the long history of human social development, the peoples have never renounced their independence and never capitulated before any kind of aggression and force. As you all know, throughout their more than 2,000-year-old history, the Romanian people have waged a ceaseless struggle and have survived as a people, nation, and state only as a result of long and resolute battles. The entire theoretical, ideological, and political-educational activity should strongly emphasize the objective laws of mankind's development and should scientifically point out and prove the fact that the class struggle, the struggle to oppose what is old and promote what is new in all fields, including in international life, has been and will further be a decisive factor in the progress of Romanian society.

The entire ideological and theoretical activity should put forth clear revolutionary guidelines for the struggle of our people and all nations to solve the complicated problems of international life and should instill trust and steadfastness into the struggle to defend socialism, socioeconomic development, independence and freedom, to ensure peace, and to create a world of complete equality among all nations. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the struggle for freedom and independence and for socialism and progress is an inseparable part of the struggle for disarmament, peace, and cooperation in the world. It is necessary to emphasize and prove the fact that the basic problem of our age is disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and the total elimination of nuclear weapons from our planet. This presupposes the united struggle of all peoples and the participation of all states in taking the necessary steps and measures to eliminate nuclear weapons, promote conventional disarmament, and radically reduce military expenditures.

One should resolutely reject the aggressive thesis of nuclear deterrent, which actually is a thesis of nuclear blackmail and of domination and oppression of other peoples. The promoters of the policy of nuclear or other

military deterrents must properly realize that such a policy runs counter to the realities of today's world, and only leads to the persistence and aggravation of the danger of war. It is necessary to promote a new policy of renouncing nuclear weapons and the military road, solving problems among states through negotiations alone, and creating a world without arms and wars. Only such a road can ensure the existence of peoples and of life itself on our planet. We must do everything possible to ensure the triumph of reason and the implementation of this policy. [cheers, chants]

Another most important problem of the current international life is underdevelopment, the accentuation of the world's division into rich and poor, and the requirement for new relations and a new world political and economic order. The ideological, theoretical, political, and educational activity must clearly show that the nations will not tolerate the current state of affairs for much longer, and that an end should be put to the neocolonialist policy of domination by the international monopolies and international financial capital. One should promote a new policy of equality and cooperation, of eliminating underdevelopment, and of creating conditions for the socioeconomic development of all nations, primarily the developing countries. This is the only way to ensure the stability of the world's economy and the progress, well-being, freedom, and independence of all nations, and it is an inseparable part of the struggle for peace in the world. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, there are many problems in international life. I do not wish to dwell on all of them in detail. However, I would like to point out that life and reality clearly prove the correctness of our party-state foreign policy of cooperation with all nations, regardless of social system. Everybody knows that Socialist Romania has made an active contribution to solving the more important international problems and has participated, together with other states, in the struggle for peace and cooperation in the world. We have always based all our country's international relations on the principle of full equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and observance of each nation's right to free and independent development, in accordance with its wishes and without any outside interference. Our political-educational activity should strongly point out the correctness of our international policy and should contribute to a better understanding of the principles governing relations among all states in the world. We are firmly determined to broadly develop relations with all socialist countries in the future, too, to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity, as a most important element of the development of socialism in each country, to assert the force of socialism in the world, and to ensure the triumph of the policy of peace. Likewise, we will broadly develop relations of cooperation with all developing countries, with the small and medium-size countries, and with the nonaligned countries, as an important element of the policy of independence, disarmament,

and peace. At the same time, we will continue to work to expand ties with the developed capitalist countries and all states in the world, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We will take resolute steps to develop economic and scientific-technological relations and to actively participate in the international division of labor and the exchange of material and cultural assets, with the conviction that this is in full accordance with the interests of the Romanian people and all nations in the world, namely to ensure their socioeconomic development and well-being, and to live in freedom, independence and peace.

We will resolutely work to develop and improve the activity of CEMA, in order to implement the long-term agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, proceeding from the fact that it should ensure the development of all socialist countries and raise their socioeconomic level. In view of certain economic problems faced by the socialist countries, we believe that one should organize a special analysis of these problems, in order to establish by common agreement the necessary measures to overcome certain difficulties and further develop socialist construction.

In this framework, I would like to stress the fact that the improvement of CEMA's activity and of economic relations among socialist countries should never lead to the creation of supranational bodies and should not diminish the role of the parties, states, and peoples in the achievement of their socioeconomic development. We believe that now, and for a long time to come, the path of broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation implies the maintenance and strengthening of the independence of each national economy, as a decisive element of progress and of the successful construction of the socialist society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in our international activity we have always attached and continue to attach great significance to developing cooperation among all European countries, in the spirit of the Helsinki documents, to the elaboration of which our country has made an active contribution. We believe that the achievement of cooperation, security, and disarmament in Europe should be based on unwavering respect for the principles of complete equality and respect for the social system in each country. This cooperation should not lead to the weakening of one country or another, but to the development and progress of each nation. We advocate many-sided cooperation in all areas, cooperation that should open up prospects to achieve a united Europe of free and independent nations. Our theoretical ideological activity should strongly emphasize that, in our times and over a long period, the preservation and strengthening of the national independence of European countries, just like that of all the other countries, is the only realistic way toward broad cooperation and the progress of each nation. Various ways can be approached to achieve the European unity. The idea of a common house can be attractive for some people. However, we must bear in mind that it is necessary that each person should ensure

an increasingly better household in his own home, and ensure equal and dignified working and living conditions for all the inhabitants of the national house. This requires the building of scores of millions of flats and houses in each country, in order to achieve a social environment in which people can have the best living and habitation conditions. That is why we believe that we should start from the need to cooperate and to bring European peoples closer to each other on the bases of strengthening and developing each national state and of each nation, and this does not mean isolation, but broad cooperation. As far as we are concerned, we are ready to proceed to broad cooperation which will under no circumstances jeopardize the independence of the country or hamper in any way the right of the Romanian people to decide independently the road for their development and their right to be complete masters of their own home. [applause]

We will take firm action to attain broad cooperation in the Balkans and to turn our region into a zone that is free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and free of foreign military bases. We advocate the expansion of cooperation and, together with our neighbors and all the countries in the Balkans and even in the Danube basin, we are ready to attain all aspects of broad cooperation, which can open up the path to the gradual elimination of all kinds of obstacles and to the rapprochement and development of fraternity and cooperation among our nations. In our whole political-educational activity, it is necessary that we strongly emphasize the correctness of the policy of our party regarding the need to find solutions to interstate conflicts solely through negotiations. We should carry out broad international activity in order to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among countries with a view to ensuring independent socioeconomic development, to defending independence, completely eliminating all forms of neocolonialist policy, and ensuring unflinching respect for the independence of each nation.

Taking into consideration the complex problems of our times, the role of small and medium-size countries, of developing countries, and nonaligned countries should more markedly increase in finding solutions to all problems in the world. We should powerfully emphasize the fact that the complex problems, including those of nuclear disarmament, cannot be solved solely by two great powers or by a few states; they can be solved only through the active participation of all countries and people. We should never forget the lessons of history that teach us that all concessions made to Hitlerite Germany did not eliminate the danger of war but quickened it and ultimately led to the outbreak of World War II. Today, more than ever, it is necessary to increase the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in finding solutions to the complex problems of our times, in ensuring equal participation of all countries in solving all problems that confront mankind. As far as Romania is concerned, it is firmly determined to make its full contribution to perfecting and increasing the role of the

United Nations and of the other international bodies. Therefore, it is necessary that our whole political-educational activity should powerfully emphasize that the complex problems of our times require more than ever the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation among all progressive and realist forces and of all nations which, through their concerted actions, can halt the dangerous course of events and ensure the triumph of reason, of a disarmament policy and the elimination of nuclear weapons, and the triumph of peace and of a policy of cooperation for the establishment of a better and more just world on our planet, a world of complete equality among all nations of the world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, as is well known, our party has broadly developed relations with the communist and workers parties. It has always advocated the strengthening of their solidarity on the basis of full equality of rights, respect for the independence of each party, and noninterference in domestic affairs. The complex international problems, including the successful construction of socialism, require the strengthening and development of cooperation and the achievement of a new kind of unity of the communist and workers parties.

Undoubtedly, for this purpose, one has to start from the new problems that are facing the workers class, the progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere. In our party's view, constant respect for independence and for each party's right to formulate its general policy in close conformity with realities and the specific conditions in each country is not at variance with this, but, on the contrary, requires, as an objective necessity, close international cooperation and solidarity.

Under the current circumstances, it is all the more necessary to intensify exchanges of experience, the joint discussion of the various problems of the present-day world, of the future development of human society, of the road of successfully building socialism, and of the struggle for disarmament and peace.

The RCP is ready to participate in any theoretical meeting to discuss problems of common interest with a view to strengthening solidarity and cooperation. We believe that the current situation requires the organization of such meetings and consultations, including the holding of an international conference of the communist and workers parties. This is the most suitable under the current international circumstances and is in keeping with the communist movement, the workers class, and with the struggle for socialism and peace throughout the world. [applause]

Firmly opposing any kind of interference in the domestic affairs of other parties and advocating respect for each party's right to formulate its strategy and policy, we believe that it is our duty to strengthen international solidarity; we must demonstrate a great sense of responsibility toward our own peoples, toward their free and independent future, and toward the cause of socialism;

we have to work in close solidarity and cooperation to democratically solve all complex problems of today. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we firmly advocate the development of broad cooperation with the socialist and social-democratic parties. The existence of certain differences in opinion on ideological problems, on the way of building socialism, and on other problems should by no means lead to the weakening of cooperation between the communist parties and those parties. On the contrary, we believe that peoples' interests in ensuring social and national liberation and living in peace and cooperation require broad cooperation among the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties, and among all progressive forces as an objective requirement of the march forward toward a better and more just world.

We are for extensive cooperation and we are broadly developing relations with the national liberation movements, with the progressive movements and ruling parties in the countries advocating development on the road of progress and economic and political independence.

We desire and advocate broad cooperation with all democratic parties and forces in common problems regarding socioeconomic progress, peoples' independence, and ensuring a lasting peace on our planet.

Theoretic and political-ideological activity has to emphatically stress the great importance of international solidarity and cooperation; it has to contribute to the education of our people in the spirit of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of socialist countries, with the communist and workers parties, with all parties and forces advocating progress and wanting to contribute to solving the complex problems in the interest of all nations, of international cooperation and peace.

We are firmly convinced that it lies in the power of communist and workers parties, and in the power of the other communist, workers, progressive, and national

liberation forces to overcome various obstacles, to intensify cooperation and solidarity, and to play an ever greater role in the development of human society on the road of progress, of freedom, independence, and peace, and to ensure new prospects for the end of this millennium and the beginning of the third millennium regarding the bright future of humanity in a world without arms and wars, a world of independence and freedom for all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the discussion with all of the people and party of the documents for the 14th congress has strongly emphasized the strength and unity of our party and the whole nation, as well as the latter's firm determination to do everything possible to welcome the congress with the best results in all spheres and to ensure the fatherland's firm progress toward new peaks of progress and civilization.

The current plenum is discussing theoretical, ideological problems and our political-educational activity; the decisions that will be adopted should guide all of the activity and should be discussed in detail by the party, by all bodies and organizations of our socialist democracy, and by all the people so as to further raise the ideological-political level and socialist awareness and to increase the spirit of revolutionary responsibility and combativity in all spheres of activity.

I am fully convinced that the Central Committee plenum on ideological matters and the decisions to be adopted will give new and strong impetus to the entire creative activity of raising the whole nation's overall level of knowledge and revolutionary awareness and that, in close unity, our party, with all of the people, will take resolute steps to unflinchingly implement the socioeconomic programs for raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization, further increasing the people's material and intellectual living standard, ensuring the victory of socialism and communism, and ceaselessly enhancing Romania's sovereignty and independence. [cheers, chants]

Foreign Secretary Loncar Visits USSR

Visit Previewed

LD2710205689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1750 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—The official visit of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar to the Soviet Union, which starts on Monday, October 30, is practically the most important Yugoslav-Soviet meeting at state level since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March last year.

However, a continuity of dialogue between the two countries' foreign ministers does exist, as Loncar and Eduard Shevardnadze have since Gorbachev's visit met at all important international gatherings, the latest of them at last month's session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York.

This is why Loncar's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union represents solely an intensification of dialogue, albeit at a moment very important to both countries.

Loncar leaves for the Soviet Union at a time of very intensive changes in Eastern Europe, whose ultimate outcome is at this moment completely unpredictable, so that the exchange of views between the two ministers will to a large extent be marked by the events in Eastern Europe.

The significance of the moment on Loncar's visit is also linked with the very dynamic developments in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union themselves.

Apart from the developments in Eastern Europe, the two ministers' exchange of views on international questions will also include positive changes in the superpower relations, especially in the sphere of disarmament, the situation in [word indistinct] and the so-called Soviet "new thinking" linked with the future of Europe. Apart from dialogue on East-West relations, there will also be mention of north-south relations, which would benefit very much in the future from a more active role by the Soviet Union.

Given that Budimir Loncar will represent in Moscow the diplomacy of the country chairing the Nonaligned Movement, a special subject will also be the results of the Belgrade summit and the activities of the non-aligned, in which the Soviet Union has lately been showing a growing interest.

The Moscow talks will be all the more substantial on account of the good and stable relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which are based on well-known principles and which have been strengthened by the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration adopted during Gorbachev's visit to Belgrade last year.

The talks will also focus on economic cooperation, which is materialized in an annual commodity exchange worth six billion dollars.

The principal problem in this sphere is the large Soviet debt to Yugoslavia, which has surpassed two billion clearing-house dollars and which is still growing. There currently exist two possibilities for that ballast to be removed—a transformation of part of the Yugoslav debt into a credit to the Soviet Union worth about 550 million dollars or a mutual clearing of debts to a value of 600 million clearing-house dollars.

Loncar is also expected to be received by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Radio Preview

AU3010175789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Branislav Canak commentary]

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has gone for a 4-day official and friendly visit to the USSR at the invitation of Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. Here is a commentary by Branislav Canak:

This visit is important for several reasons. First of all, this visit should confirm the continuity in exchanging opinions at the state level because there have hardly been any visits at the high state level since last year's visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, who was then only the head of the party, not of state. True, Loncar and Shevardnadze met each other at several international meetings and every meeting was used to hold extensive talks. However, the speed at which international, as well as the internal, events of both countries are happening is such that the forthcoming visit will be a real opportunity to speak about these issues in more detail.

Finally, the bilateral relations also require contacts at high state level because daily changes in the economy of Yugoslavia and the USSR require regular discussions [word indistinct] and unresolved issues. For instance, one should expect that they will seek a solution to the Yugoslav balance of payments surplus which has already exceeded \$2 billion and represents an obstacle in the trade between the countries.

As far as international matters are concerned, there are two sets of questions that are of interest for both countries and will probably be on the ministers' agenda. They will probably be discussed during the planned reception with the Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the party and state. These issues concern very dynamic happenings in the world, especially in Europe, and a very interesting question of the already incipient process of redefining relations in East Europe.

On the other hand, one should also bear in mind the fact that Loncar is coming as a foreign minister of a country which is the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, as well as the fact that in the USSR's list of foreign policy priorities, the nonaligned countries are increasingly given the importance of an equal and, in many respects, necessary partner in the world affairs.

Finally, the visit by Budimir Loncar to the USSR will confirm a successful development of relations between the two countries on the known principles that were reaffirmed in the Belgrade declaration during last year's visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia.

Loncar, Shevardnadze Talks Begin

*AU3110093489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze have started their first round of talks in Moscow. Before this, Loncar laid wreaths in front of Lenin's Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, will receive Loncar this afternoon.

Further Reportage on Azem Vlasi Case, Trial

Suvar Wants Charges Dropped

*AU3110141289 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 89 p 6*

[Z. Z. report: "Suvar and Muzevic Demanded Vlasi's Release"]

[Text] Pristina, 28 Oct—As we have learned, at the last session of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Suvar, member of the SFRY Presidency, demanded that charges against Azem Vlasi concerning his criminal responsibility for counterrevolutionary activities against the SFRY be dropped (abolished, as Janez Kocijancic demanded).

At the same session, the abolition of the charges against the former front-ranking youth leader and top Kosovo official was also demanded by Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

After a discussion, both demands were rejected.

Withdrawal of Indictment Demanded

*LD3010201889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—A statement issued today by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights demands that the state bodies withdraw the indictment and end proceedings against Azem Vlasi and the other 11 accused, and recall all Slovene policemen from Kosovo. The committee called a meeting for 1700 today at 9, Beethoven Street, Ljubljana.

The meeting should gather "representatives of all organizations ready to cooperate in preparations for protest actions. It calls for coordinated action by institutions protecting human rights at the Yugoslav level in opposing any violation of human rights in Yugoslavia, and any form of violence against anyone expressing their

disagreement with this and any other similar political processes, especially against the Stari Trg miners."

Slovene SAWP Appeal

*AU3010201689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia appealed to the SFRY Presidency to use its powers to abolish the Azem Vlasi case and in this way save the country's reputation.

The Presidium was of the opinion that the trial of Azem Vlasi is a political trial which will only harm the country's reputation in the world and stated that Slovenia does not want to take part in it.

In this context the Presidium gave credit to Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who proposed a discussion on abolition in the SFRY Presidency.

Trial Reporting Problems Viewed

*AU3110103189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Dusan Radulovic commentary]

[Text] Even if one can understand why it is impossible for a large number of journalists to follow the Vlasi trial directly from the courtroom and if we accept the excuse that the number of seats is limited, one can by no means understand why it is not possible to fully follow the trial through a closed-circuit television system or over loudspeakers from one of the side rooms that exist in the court building. Such as it is, with one journalist per several editorial offices, we have been left alone on the battlefield of the media war waged with the blessing of some republican leaderships. We have been left to the mercy of assessments by people whom we see in Kosovo for the first time and only a small number of those who have been following Kosovo events continuously for almost 10 years.

If they will not allow filming and if this really is a public trial, why then are journalists not distributed shorthand notes of statements made by the prosecutor, lawyers, and defendants. We shall not ask why is it possible that newspapers with a negligible circulation have an advantage over a mass medium such as radio. However, everything about the trial and the reporting of it is clear evidence that there is a complete lack of understanding for the reporters' job on the part of the organizer of the trial.

When we protested, the Kosovo Committee for Information replied that everything was in the hands of the court. They told us in the court that the committee is responsible for the reporting business. So we have been caught in a circle. The price of such horrible organization of reporting on the trial could be even higher than the responsible people might think. Incomplete information

about the Titova Mitrovica trial and reports lacking facts will only lead to a situation in which there are several truths about Kosovo events, in which everybody writes what he likes, and in which there is no chance of using well-argued reasons to refute possible untruths and half-truths.

That manipulation is possible under such conditions can be most clearly seen in our previous reports on unrest and demonstrations. If something is not radically changed about the way the trial of Vlasi, Abrasi, Kavaja, and the others is reported, the truth will suffer most, and we suppose everybody is equally interested in being given the truth.

Pro-Kosovo Demonstrations Continue Nationwide

Police Gas Protestors in Podujevo

AU3010145889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Milivoje Mihailovic report]

[Text] Demonstrations by Albanians in Podujevo which started about 1300 have ended. The demonstrators shouted: Unity and equality for the whole of Kosovo. They demanded a republic and a constitution, by will or by force, and shouted the slogan: We swear we will not give Kosovo away. Some of the demonstrators wore scarves over their faces. They marched along the Podujevo main street five to six times, followed by a big silent group of citizens.

Tear gas was used about 1400. The militiamen pushed back the demonstrators, who were throwing stones at them. The demonstrators then gathered in front of the communal assembly building and broke through the militia cordon. As a rough estimate, about 1,000 demonstrators were there at that moment. There were quite a few older people among them.

The demonstrators then tried to make barricades in order to stop an armored carrier which tried to disperse them toward the outskirts of the town. They were then dispersed into backstreets with the help of tear gas. No injuries have been reported. Security organs have detained a number of participants in the demonstrations.

Journalist Attacked in Podujevo

LD3010184489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Podujevo, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—A group of Albanian nationalist and separatist demonstrators attacked Matija Kokovic, a photoreporter of the VJESNIK newspaper enterprise this afternoon. They grabbed his camera and smashed it on the sidewalk. Then they attacked Kokovic, who managed to escape. He suffered no bodily harm.

Journalists Stoned in Pristina

LD3010183189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—This afternoon, in the Vranjevac area of Pristina, a TANJUG car carrying TANJUG and 'BORBA' journalists was stoned. A rear-door window was broken. The car was the only one in the procession with Belgrade license plates.

Later, a procession of children and young men masked with scarves and sweaters, passed by the TANJUG car and shouted "Kosovo, republic." An unmasked young man stepped out from the procession and called on the crowd to let the car pass.

In front of the TANJUG car was a reporters' team from Belgrade. Their car had Ljubljana license plates, and the crowd welcomed it with waving.

Sporadic Incidents Continue

AU3010201489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] I have just returned to my office. In Pristina, groups of some 50 demonstrators every so often pop out from side streets, shout several times the slogan, "Kosovo, republic", and then, as militiamen approach them, immediately disperse.

About ½ hour ago, a group of some 200 demonstrators gathered in front of the student campus. They shouted: "Kosovo, republic and Trepca, Trepca". They were obviously trying to provoke demonstrations by students. After chanting for about 2 minutes and after they realized that their intention did not materialize, the demonstrators dispersed.

In Vranjevac district every ½ hour, groups of demonstrators are appearing from side streets trying to cause unrest. The militiamen are intervening with tear gas.

Demonstrations in Zagreb

LD3010221489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 30 Oct

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—This evening a demonstration of ethnic Albanians opposing Azem Vlasi's trial took place again at the main square in Zagreb. After more than an hour, as long as it lasted, when it was expected that demonstrators would disperse peacefully, an incident suddenly occurred between spectators and the end of the procession of demonstrators. Public order and peace bodies of the secretariat for internal affairs reacted immediately and prevented further incidents.

More than 100 demonstrators of Albanian nationality, who carried Tito's picture, and state, republican, and party flags (marked with socialist signs of the SFRY of the Socialist Republic of Croatia), while circling the main square in Zagreb—square of the republic—shouted

slogans and carried placards such as "Azem, come back," "Comrades, endure," "Brother Croats, together we are stronger," "Tito, Vlasi," "We are Tito's. Tito is ours," "Trepca, we do not give Vlasi," "We want Vlasi's freedom," "All counterrevolutionaries out from the LCY," "Tito, Kosovo, Vlasi," "Croatian intelligentsia, help us," "We want freedom for Kosovo and all nations," "We do not want arms," and at the same time they chanted "Better to be buried than to be a slave," and sang "Comrade Tito, we pledge to you..." and "Tito, party."

The gathered spectators and numerous by-passers watched the demonstrators in silence, and sometime before 1900 a spectator shouted to the procession "down with Vlasi,"

Then several demonstrators from the end of the procession stormed at spectators and caught a person who started to run. Then, some individuals shouted "down with communists."

That was a critical moment, threatened by the inflammation of passions. It was dispelled by the timely intervention of the bodies of public order and peace of the secretariat for internal affairs. After the intervention, the demonstrators dispersed around 1900.

Demonstration, Strikes in Kosovo

*AU3010204389 Pristina Domestic Service
in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] At today's extended meeting, the Presidium of the Suhareka League of Communists [LC] Committee issued the following communique: At about 1330 hours today a group of 80 schoolchildren of Albanian nationality gathered in the courtyard of the Jeta e Re [New Life] secondary school and began to shout slogans calling: Azem, Azem, Free Azem. They tried to induce other schoolchildren to join in the demonstration from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. However, the other schoolchildren failed to join them. The children returned to their classes after about 15 minutes. The security organs did not intervene. The LC Committee Presidium asked the school authorities to undertake measures against these schoolchildren. [passage omitted]

A number of hostile leaflets from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism were found last evening in Prizren. Today, on the first day of the trial against Azem Vlasi and 14 others, no excesses were reported in Prizren.

Today, workers of Albanian nationality at the Tefik Canga Timber Combine Urosevac stopped work. The cause for the stoppage was the trial against Azem Vlasi and 14 other accused of being a counterrevolutionary threat to our system. The General People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee in Urosevac considered the work stoppage as a hostile action on the part of

Albanian nationalists and separatists, intended to exacerbate the situation in the province and to put pressure on the legal organs.

TANJUG Rounds Up Kosovo 'Riots'

*LD3110044189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0056 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] Pristina, October 30 TANJUG)—A highly tense day was recorded in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The fears came true that Albanian separatists would react to the start of the trial of former Kosovo Communist Party leader Azem Vlasi and another fourteen former economy officials.

All the same, only Pristina and Podujevo recorded riots. Separatists tried to stage demonstrations in support of Vlasi and the other defendants in the two cities in the afternoon and evening hours.

The demonstrators shouted slogans "Kosovo Republic", "Death to Milosevic", "Murders, free Azem". The police quickly intervened, dispersing the demonstrators who, however, soon appeared again in another part of town. The chasing lasted until late in the evening.

Attempts made to stage demonstrations were also recorded in a high school in the town of Suva Reka today.

Several strikes were also recorded. Some miners of the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines, near Titova Mitrovica, refused to go down into the pits and employees in a factory in Urosevac staged a forty-minute strike. Pamphlets were also distributed in Urosevac which called on people to demonstrate in support of Azem Vlasi.

The windows of an elementary school in Urosevac were shattered, while almost half the pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities in Gnjilane did not attend classes out of fear.

Despite these incidents separatists did not gain wider support.

Kosovo Presidency on Miners' 'Political Diversion'

*LD3110142189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Pristina, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo has examined the current political and security situation in the province in connection with the refusal of 60 Stari Trg miners to leave the pit and their unacceptable political demands. The Presidency assessed, it is reported, that this is a case of calculated, organized hostile activity from a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is placing an additional burden on the already complex political situation in the province. This organized political diversion of Albanian nationalists and separatists has met with the strong condemnation of working people and citizens throughout the

province, and has also been firmly rejected by the majority of workers in Stari Trg.

The Presidency supported the measures to get the miners out of the pit at Stari Trg. Its statement adds that thanks to all the measures taken and the involvement of the subjects of social self-protection and the internal affairs organs, the miners were successfully taken out of the pit this morning. This, the statement adds, will be particularly reflected in creating a positive climate and political situation in Trepca and throughout the province, and on the readiness and determination of all subjects of social self-protection to energetically stand in the way of such and similar actions.

The Presidency assessed that the Albanian nationalists and separatists in collusion with Albanian hostile emigre groups have been intensifying their hostile activity in the subversive propaganda sphere in the past few days. The Presidency calls on all state and other organs, as well as all subjects of all-people's defense and social self-protection, to invest maximal efforts to energetically prevent and oppose any form of hostile activity from a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism and other destructive forces.

The Kosovo SAP Presidency calls on all working people and citizens to increase their vigilance, not to submit to the various kinds of disinformation and provocation being instigated by the enemy, and to resolutely oppose any form of hostile activity. At the same time, it calls for increased responsibility of state and all other organs, and self-managing organizations, for the consistent application of the special measures of the SFRY Presidency. The Presidency calls for the consistent implementation of the Constitution and the law and for the more effective functioning of all institutions of the political system with the aim of successfully resolving the numerous current problems, the statement says.

Kosovo Executive Council Official Relieved

*AU2510204389 Belgrade Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] At its session today, the Kosovo Assembly relieved Hazer Susuri, member and vice president of the Provincial Executive Council, of his duties. This was also the proposal of the provincial government, which is of the opinion that Susuri has come into a most serious conflict with the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic with more details:

The decision to relieve Hazer Susuri, vice president of the provincial government, was made only on the third vote. Debate on whether one should vote on the proposal of the Executive Council or accept Susuri's resignation lasted 4 hours. It was said in the explanation of his dismissal that Susuri had come into conflict with the policy of the League of Communists and that he had abused the assembly rostrum in order to actualize the Albanian separatist program, all with a view to slowing

down ideological differentiation and the process of solving the situation in Kosovo.

However, several delegates opposed the dismissal. They reiterated the claim that the ideological differentiation in Kosovo is a campaign launched against the Albanian nationality, that the struggle against Albanian nationalism has grown into a witch hunt, as (?Rabit) Redzeqi put it, and that it is breaking apart the healthy Albanian national body. One could also hear some assertions that the struggle should be directed against Serbian nationalism which, according to them, is largely on the offensive.

Such opinions and blanket assessments were opposed by Aleksandar Peric, Rade Zvicar, and Predrag Lazic.

In the second part of the session, the Assembly discussed the realization of the social plan in the past 3 years and development tasks in the year to come. [passage omitted]

Pancevski Addresses LCY Central Committee

*AU2710155189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Introductory speech by Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the 28th plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—live]

[Text] [Beginning of the sentence distorted by the announcer in the studio] the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on the ideopolitical substance of the attacks on the personality, role, and works of Josip Broz Tito and the tasks of the LC to suppress and unmask them, seen, the Presidium discussed these and established stands on them in October last year and then again this October, and adopted stands that have been given to you to endorse. The Presidium is thus responding to the initiative of the Central Committee that these stands be given support at this level as well. There are at least two reasons for this: First, by endorsing these, the LCY Central Committee, as the highest organ of the LC between two congresses, is expressing its clear attitude to attacks on the personality, role, and works of Josip Broz Tito and attempts to annul them and the strategy of development of our country and socialism in it. Second, our firm resolution to make these stands binding for the active and creative activity of Communists in implementing them.

Josip Broz Tito and the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], which he led for a long time, always had political opponents who in a wide variety of ways tried to remove them from the social and political scene. This is the destiny of every historic personality and of every historic movement. Their strength and value are in fact confirmed by the victories of what is new in the conflict with what is old, with the opening and fulfillment of the vision of a more humane society, with its sociopolitical, social, and other dimensions which make the life of men

worthy of them. This is why the current attacks on Josip Broz Tito should not surprise us, nor is there anything essentially new in them. What, however, should concern us, is our ineptness or inability to respond to them on time or to mount adequate action to change the social conditions which feed them and in which the alleged justification for their theses can be found, to identify these attacks, publicly to unmask their reactionary substance, and thus prevent them from having a larger impact.

In these stands, the LCY Central Committee Presidium noted that the attacks on the role and the achievements of Josip Broz Tito had been escalating and that the attempts to challenge and disqualify everything of which Tito is the creator and the symbol of are assuming the elements of a systematic implementation of elaborate enemy programs and platforms. The creators and protagonists of these programs and platforms are acting publicly, more and more now and quite openly indulging in veritable propaganda campaigns.

Assorted insignificant matters in Tito's life and work are tendentiously sought out or distorted in order to compromise his personality and subsequently to also compromise everything that the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY have created under his leadership. In most cases the positions from which the allegedly free and critical re-examination of the role and achievements of Josip Broz Tito are made can be identified as nationalistic, antisocialist and anticommunist. In the absence of any historic basis and facts or with the preset objectives of the global negation of our revolution, socialist development, and the role and work of Comrade Tito, Tito and the communists are denounced because of the national liberation struggle and the revolution. They are also accused, without any reason or for the sake of their own interests, of leading our peoples into a fratricidal war, of operating on the orders and in the interest of the Comintern, and of not taking into account the interest of their own people in Yugoslavia, and that the revolution was carried out and postwar development implemented to the detriment of this or that nation. Tito is also restricted by reference to his national origin, in the sense that either the betrayal of the interests of the nation from which he originates is attributed to him or in the sense that his activity to its advantage and to the detriment of others is imputed to him. The attainments and objectives of socialist self-management democracy are challenged and the renewal of bourgeois parliamentarism or state socialism is sought. The alleged benefits of prewar Yugoslavia are glorified and the mistakes of the communists in postwar Yugoslavia are made absolute in a negative sense. National rights and the equality of our nations and nationalities and the very existence of some of them are denied; the substance of Tito's concept of all-people's defense and of the role of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] is attacked and distorted, and in this context his entire military achievement as a strategist and military commander is attacked and distorted up to

the point where our country's foreign policy, independence, and nonalignment are generally challenged. Propaganda is conducted for national reconciliation, assorted "national programs" are formulated and publicly advertised; these programs attempt to gather forces to implement alleged interests of their own nations, either independently of or against the others. Unfortunately, LC members sometimes take part in all this, not understanding what this is all about or by defending Tito in a way in which, for all intents and purposes, they expose Tito to unprincipled criticism and attacks.

It is quite clear now that Tito is not being attacked or challenged for his sake alone. What this is about is a continuous reexamination and reevaluation of the very substance of Tito's achievements and of the strategic aspects of his activity—that is to say of the national liberation struggle and the revolution, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations of the SFRY, brotherhood and unity, and equality of our nations and nationalities and of our federal system on this basis, the role of the LCY in our society, and of our very socialist self-management social setup. These are attempts to proclaim our entire revolutionary path as a failure and an unsuccessful experiment and, taking advantage of our current crisis, to impose the elimination of our basic social values and commitments which have no alternative in our Yugoslav conditions, that is to say, to prevent the development of the crisis in the direction of the reaffirmation and development of self-management democracy, socialism, and the further enhancement of brotherhood and unity, and equality of our nations and nationalities. In this context, under the guise of the alleged free reevaluation of the role and achievements of Josip Broz Tito, more often than not he is generally denounced and disqualified in the absence of any cogent and well-argued analysis of historic conditions and times and of the range of this activity, both by Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY.

It is impermissible that all this should be happening before the eyes of the LC and other self-management socialist forces and that this should be left without a resolute response. For this reason and on this occasion we must wonder about what is happening with individual communists. Has the long duration of the crisis made them waver as far as the basic commitments of our revolutionary communist and workers' movement are concerned? Are we losing our self-confidence and our revolutionary identity or have we become so bureaucratized, alienated, and wrapped up in various controversial issues ourselves with this important aspect of events around us?

Josip Broz Tito and his work are not defended with slogans and by merely swearing one's loyalty. It will subsist only if it is further developed. The existing social crisis will inevitably place a question mark against many values. It destabilizes our society and justifiably awakens among our people dissatisfaction and anger and also the desire for the situation to change as soon as possible. Objectively speaking this is a fertile ground for the

activity of opposition and enemy forces, which under the guise of the way out of the crisis, in substance are trotting out the theses which lead to the elimination of basic social values and the collapse of Yugoslavia itself.

However, a major impetus to search for something new and the possibility of affirming multi-faceted creative endeavors and progress is implicit in the crisis. For the LC and for all socialist self-management forces the crisis is a genuine challenge and commitment in the sense that our society should develop in the direction of democratic, self-management, richer and more developed socialism. Remaining consistent with Tito's nondogmatic thought and practice this response is unequivocal.

A critical attitude towards one's own practice and experience, the rejection and the change of everything which has not withstood the test of time or is unsuitable in the new conditions, the further development of democratic relations, and the release of the creative energy of the working people are the only proper stances through which the LC can assert itself as a revolutionary and vanguard force. We believe that this is also the only way which constitutes an outlook for socialist federal Yugoslavia. This is why we opted for social reform. Instead of being more aggressive, more democratic, more open, and far more creative in conceiving the reform we are allowing crude nihilism to prevail in our politicized reciprocal disputes, even vis-a-vis our basic values and achievements. We even allow those who are not all interested in socialist self-management and a federal Yugoslavia, brotherhood, unity, and equality for our nations and nationalities, positions and roles in the working class, in an independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia, a united LCY and its status and role in our society to step in into the alleged search for new solutions. This is why the issue of the defense of Tito's achievements, and the issue of the continuation and development of these achievements is an issue which concerns us all and an issue of the continuity of the revolution.

The stands say that nothing, including Tito's role and achievements, can be exempt from a critical re-examination, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on to say. Tito himself stressed: "Let history and future generations judge us such as we were, how we developed and in which direction we moved," and in his work and activity he never dogmatically buried himself under one single solution but searched for something better, and more suitable given the time, the degree of development, and the possibilities for further development. However he never abandoned the basic line and the basic commitment of our workers and communist movement, the interests of our working class and people and of AVNOJ Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities, and its independence and autonomy. And when mistakes were made Josip Broz Tito did not hesitate to acknowledge them and seek their correction. To remain consistent today to Tito's principles and his method of work does not mean rejection of any discussion about his work and role in the revolution and the development of the country but a

critical, Marxist approach to the past for the benefit of the present time and the future.

The LCY and the country as a whole without a doubt are today at a crossroad when decisions are taken on a fundamental question—whether our social problems will be responded to with new creative initiatives, new ideas, and steps in the process of emancipating the labor and working classes, richer socialism, and genuine democracy or whether it will stay on positions of dogmatic slavery or failed solutions. We were united in opting for three reforms. Along this reform line and in order to enrich general knowledge and to draw a lesson to fulfill the role of the LCY and the development of socialism at the present time, the return to Tito's work and role and a critical valuation of his experience, practice, and solutions can only be useful, of course only if this is done without prejudices, a priori judgments, or condemnation for the sake of other interests. Unless this is done by the LC and other subjects of a self-management-socialist frame of mind we will sink further and further into the traps set by opposition forces. This is precisely what is happening to us now and to a considerable extent too. This is why in our stands we tried to identify our immediate tasks regarding the study and evaluation of Tito's role and work, coordination of work in this area, and of our meaningful and planned activity.

The absence of valid responses to the attacks, challenges, and disqualification of Tito's personality, his work and role in our revolution and socialist development imposes the need for us to self-critically examine our own work. It is not enough to utter just one word and denounce a specific and striking example of an attack on Josip Broz Tito and believe that in so doing we have fulfilled our commitment. The continuity and escalation of these attacks demand and in fact make it incumbent on us, especially on LC leaderships and on all LC members as well, to react to them immediately and lucidly, to respond to insinuations and lies with proper arguments, to train themselves to identify them in time and to separate the essential from the nonessential. A special role in all this devolves on scholars and cultural workers and on people with a creative frame of mind, so the stands ask the LC leaderships to initiate activity in this sphere in all Marxist centers, scholarly institutions, communist actives and others.

It is impossible to ignore on this occasion either the public information media or the communists working in them. The exceptional political strength of public information media in shaping public opinion and the political climate in society in general should be channelled into a constructive understanding of the past and of present-day activities as well. Unfortunately, the attacks on Josip Broz Tito in the revolution, especially from nationalistic and anticommunist positions, have become rather frequent in individual media throughout the country and they are not responded to in the environments in which this is happening. The communists working in public information media cannot hide their responsibility for this behind the responsibility of others who allegedly are

officially responsible. In our system public information media are independent and accordingly are responsible to our society and the public at large for the effects of their activity.

In conclusion and on this occasion once again one should recall our commitments in the preparations for the forthcoming League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] special congress. We are in the process of placing the draft congress documents before the LC membership and the public. Within the framework of the overall democratic discussion concerning the congress documents we must ensure a creative confrontation of views, interpretations, and evaluation of specific proposals. In this respect we can be helped a great deal by the experience from the period when Comrade Tito was leader of the LCY. In this context the LCY can go on fulfilling its leading role, secure a more efficient and more rapid way out of the present crisis, and give life to new visions of our social development only if in its revolutionary action. Always, and especially now, it relies on the inexhaustible and creative sources of the overall Marxist thought and the revolutionary experience of the communist and workers' movement in the world and in our country to which our revolution, Tito, and a brilliant group of our thinkers and revolutionaries made an invaluable contribution. In this context we must take even greater advantage of Tito's overall creative endeavor, visit, his revolutionary spirit, and consistency in fulfilling the strategic socialist, self-management, and democratic commitments and interests of the working class and of all our nations and nationalities. This attitude and approach will be our best answer to the progressive aspirations of our working people and citizens and the only proper answer to all those who proffer division, collapse of socialism, and the abandonment of the ideas of the socialist and communist movement.

The quintessential lines of Tito's achievement have become the heritage of the entire progressive world. Tito was a statesman of world stature, indefatigably involved in the struggle for peace and for cooperation between the state and peoples, one of the pioneers and founders of the Nonaligned Movement. The whole world acknowledges these everlasting merits to him today. The policy of independence and nonalignment is and remains the lodestar of our activity in the international community. The values of Tito's work as a whole, and this is what they undeniably are, will live and develop despite everything. On the LCY devolves the greater responsibility that they should go on being developed and enriched in a creative way in the current international conditions, and in the development of the new stage of socialism in our country. Because of all this, the LCY Central Committee Presidium is proposing to the Central Committee that it endorses these stands and thus make them obligatory for the activities of all leaders and members of the LCY.

Grbovic Speaks on Central Committee President

*AU2710205089 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Speech by Miomir Grbovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade on 27 October, at the continuation of the 28th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held on 20, 21, and 27 October—live]

[Text] Comrades, the Central Committee Presidium has proposed to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia a draft decision on the introduction of the office of president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and on the duration of his term, as well as on the constitution of the future executive-political organ of the Central Committee. This is in conformity with Article 152 of the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which enables the Central Committee to decide to introduce changes pertaining to the preparations for the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and to do so proceeding from the proposal on amending the statute and after a debate is held throughout the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

This is done in conformity with the orientations set down in the Basic Directions of the Transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Ideopolitical Foundations of the Amendments to the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, documents adopted by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as amendments to the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The adoption of this decision leads to a timely performance of cadre proceedings, so it is necessary to adopt it on time. It goes without saying that decisions such as this one are subject to an approval by the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. On the basis of the debates on the above-mentioned documents held to date, one can conclude that there is a unanimous feeling that the office of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should be introduced. This office will be in conformity with the general orientation favoring such changes in the organization and the method of work and activity of the Central Committee, which should contribute to the strengthening of its role, influence, efficiency, and its responsibility as the highest body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia during the time between two congresses.

The responsibility of the president of the Central Committee, the importance of this office, and the decision that he should head the work of the Central Committee and its executive-political organ require that candidates for the president of the Central Committee should enjoy confidence and respect among members, that they should excel in their ability to synthesize progressive social aspirations and experiences in the development of

socialist self-management, in the struggle for the interests of the Yugoslav society as a whole, and in the ability to carry out integrative ideopolitical activity along the line of strengthening the unity of ideology and action

According to the draft decision, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will elect the Central Committee president from its ranks, each time from a League of Communists of a different republic or province. At the same time, the elected president of the Central Committee would join the set number of members of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which is the executive-political organ of the Central Committee.

We propose that the term of office of the Central Committee president should last 2 years, without the right to re-election.

Since the majority of federal organs and organizations, for the time being with the exception of the SFRY Presidency, are changing or announcing changes in the duration of the term of office, the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is of the opinion that one should start the initiative within the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia on the question of the order of election to the most responsible federal functions as soon as possible, and hold political consultations on this matter. This is necessary in order to ensure an equal republican and provincial representation at the most responsible offices in the state and political organs of the Federation.

It is also necessary to adopt a decision on these questions because consultations concerning the candidates for the office of the president of the Central Committee should be carried out in time, in a democratic atmosphere, in a principled and reasoned way, in the interest of affirming a public promotion of candidates.

The changes that are proposed concerning the constitution of the Presidium as the executive-political organ of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are aimed at creating conditions for the more operational and efficient execution of its functions, for elevating it beyond republican and provincial interests, and for strengthening its obligations and direct responsibility for the realization of stances and decisions of the Central Committee.

You can see in the draft decision that was distributed to you that it had been proposed that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should elect its Presidium consisting of 15 members as its executive-political organ. Such an orientation is a result of the fact that we had already decided that the Central Committee should consist of 129, instead of the present 165 members. In conformity with this, one should make an outline of its executive-political organ. This means that, as concerns the number of its members, the internal organization of its work, and its orientation, it should be a more mobile and efficient initiator,

organizer, and promoter of direct political action, primarily regarding the implementation of the stances and decisions of the Central Committee.

Therefore, the executive-political organ should no longer have ex-officio members, as it does now. However, the rules of procedure of the Presidium should establish questions in the case of which the presidents of the central and provincial committees and the committee of the Organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army should participate in the work of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In conformity with their statutory provisions, the republican and provincial leagues of communists, as well as the Organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army will decide about introducing the office of president of their highest bodies. Primarily for the sake of information, the draft decision is accompanied by the memo on the criteria for and the procedure of proposing, establishing, and electing candidates for the Presidium of the Central Committee and members of executive-political organ of the Central Committee.

The (?memo) was drawn up in order to make the further cadre procedure easier and avoid some possible incomplete and unclear points. By mentioning the basic criteria, we have briefly presented the basic questions concerning the election procedure.

Let me remind you that the basic procedural matters are regulated by the present Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, by Articles 40-43, 108, 109, and 112, and the Central Committee decision of the 22d session on the criteria and procedure concerning the nomination, proposal, and approval of the delegates for the forums and the members of organs at all organizational levels in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

These documents do not regulate in greater detail the procedure for the election of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This should be done by the statute and the rules of procedure of the Central Committee. After a public discussion and the adoption of a decision by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, we will define the basic questions which refer to the cadre procedure regarding the election procedure, to the election of the future Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the election of the president of the Central Committee, the Presidium of the Central Committee, and other organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We propose that the public discussion on the draft of this decision last until the end of November this year.

Comrades, all changes in the organizational structure of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should be derived from the need to ensure the greater ability of the membership and the organizations and organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to carry out more

successful political action. However, these changes cannot and will not yield results without the total transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its further internal democratization as the condition for freeing the creative potential of the members and the organizations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Thank you.

Bosnia Committee Member Shot, Hospitalized

*LD2910225389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2149 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Dr Faud Muhic, university professor, was transferred urgently last night

from his weekend house in the foothills of Igman [mountain near Sarajevo] to the medical center in Sarajevo. Fuad Muhic was wounded by a bullet fired from a pistol. He was wounded in the chest, but, according to the first medical reports, none of his vital organs are damaged and his life is not in danger.

Dr Faud Muhic is a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee and the chairman of the Commission for Theoretical Work.

According to tomorrow's issue of BORBA, after being received at the clinic Dr Fuad Muhic said that his wounding is not politically motivated.

Since a "personal act" is involved, so far no statement has been issued in Sarajevo.